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„How does the use of discourse markers affect student speaking time in Austrian CLIL classes?"

verfasst von / submitted by

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1. Introduction

During the past few decades interaction and active classroom participation have both grown in importance due to its positive effect on language learning. Whether it is through authentic reading input, stimulating visual media or an interesting group work task, teachers are encouraged to use the platform they are given to increase their students' motivation for participating, since participation further improves learning success. (Hedge 2000, 24-30) Possible ways to increase that classroom participation, such as the ones mentioned before have been discussed to a large extent throughout literature as well as studied in various countries and contexts. One specific method for this is the use of Discourse Markers, henceforth DM. Since some researchers have proven its positive effect on classroom interaction in general, this thesis aims to address the effect of specific DMs, namely *actually, and, I mean, I think, now, okay, right, so* and *well* in the context of Austrian CLIL classrooms. In doing so, the present paper attempts to address one of the possible ways of improving participation and thus language learning, which has been an important aspect for linguists as well as teachers.

Since DMs, speaking time and CLIL have been researched to a great amount as separate topics but more rarely in relation to one another, it is interesting to first consider the findings of some of these studies, which also present facts that are relevant for the present thesis. The first study to be considered is one by Neary-Sundquist. In her article (2014) she presents the significant and expected difference in the variety and number of DMs in the active vocabulary of speakers on a lower level of proficiency compared to speakers who are at a high level of proficiency. Neary-Sundquist even goes as far as to state that despite the growth in variety of DMs from a limited list of examples that commonly include: *I think*, *also*, and *so*, it proves to be impossible for high-proficiency speakers to reach "native-like patterns of variation" regarding DMs. (Neary-Sundquist 2014: 656) Studies such as those conducted by Liu (2003), Fung and Carter (2007), Liao (2009) and Asik and Cephe (2013) present similar results. They all investigated how learners of English of different levels of proficiency used DMs in comparison to native-speakers. The group of non-native speakers were all learners of English who learned the language in an ELF context (Liu 2003: 144, Fung and Carter 2007: 410, Liao 2009: 1313, Asik and Cephe 2013: 144)

Fung and Carter present a significant difference in the use of DMs between Hong Kong learners of English and native speakers and showed that Hong Kong learners do use DMs these usually limited to referentially functional ones such as *okay, but*, and, *because* and *so*, however, the native speakers' usage of DMs includes a wider range of pragmatic functions which include *you know, yeah, I see, well, right, really, actually* and many others. (Fung and Carter 2007: 410) Along that same lines but focusing on a different geographical region, Asik and Cephe use two corpora in order to look at the differences between the usage of DMs by non-native speakers and native speakers in spoken language. They compare the first corpus, which is composed of transcripts of undergraduate students from Turkey, to transcripts from native speakers of English. Similar to the studies mentioned before, Asik and Cephe conclude that native speaker discourse contains a much greater variety of DMs. Going one step further, they support the fact that this result displays a clear need for explicit awareness raising of DM usage in ELT. (Asik and Cephe 2013: 144)

Two of the many studies that have researched the area of DM acquisition are by Hellermann and Vergun (2007) and by Trillo (2002) which both address the problems and potential solutions for the often inefficient use of DMs by language learners. In his article, Trillo looks at whether or not teaching pragmatic information is enough for learners of English to use DMs in a way that is similar to that of native or fluent speakers of English. His study categorizes two groups, children and adult speakers, which he analyzes to see whether or not the pragmatic information they acquire is sufficient for them to develop a correct usage of that information which would ideally develop from knowledge into competence. (Trillo 2002: 770) Based on the result of his quantitative analysis, he eventually supports the notion that combining pragmatic information and function in the process of teaching a foreign language is the most efficient way to help learners acquire "the pragmatic value of linguistic elements in the same way as native [speakers]" (Trillo 2002: 783). In a complementary way, Hellermann and Vergun (2007: 157) investigate how adult learners of English use linguistic functions and forms that they have not been taught explicitly at all. They focus on three specific DMs: *well*, *you know* and *like* and analyze classroom interactions as well as interviews of adult learners in order to compare them to discourse samples from fluent speakers and see the different ways of how these two

groups use DMs. While one of their goals is to gain insight into why these DMs are not usually taught in textbooks, they also discover that providing an adequate context for teaching pragmatic functions by giving students the opportunity to engage in free, unguided conversation in pairs or small groups is essential for them to learn the coherent use of those DMs. (Hellermann and Vergun 2007: 177)

Despite there being various studies concerning the use of DMs by learners as well as teachers in different context, this thesis aims to investigate teachers' use of DMs in the specific context of CLIL classes with the purpose of presenting teachers with useful insight into how their speech can influence CD, henceforth CD, in a way that increases student talking time and thereby improves students' learning process. Since interaction is a substantial part of every classroom, the context of CLIL was chosen specifically for the reason of studying how students and teachers interact in various lessons. While language lessons usually focus more explicitly on increasing student talking time in order for them to practice the target language, language lessons would not have been the ideal context to place the present study in. However, the context of CLIL lessons offers the ideal combination of lessons that focus both, on language and content which is more appropriate for this thesis. To do this properly, the present thesis is structured in two main parts: a theoretical and a practical part. The theoretical part consists of an overview of this paper's research question main terms. A detailed insight into discourse and CA, CD, Content and Language Integrated Learning and DMs will provide the basis for the second part of this thesis. While the topic of CD and CLIL are rather easily defined and offer a rather structured basis for the practical analysis, the last part of the theory, DM, presents more challenges due to its complexity and the great variety of opinions and definitions. Nevertheless, the theoretical insights presented in this first part will assure a clear analysis in the practical part which follows immediately after. There the design and procedure of this study will be presented in accordance to the first chapter of the theoretical part, discourse and CA. Having this background, both a quantitative and a qualitative analysis will establish the result of this paper presenting the effect of DMs on student talking time in Austrian CLIL classes.

2. Theoretical part

2.1.　　　　Discourse Analysis and Conversation Analysis

Since the purpose of this thesis is to look at DMs in CD, it is best to start by looking at two main approaches on how to approach this analysis; namely Discourse Analysis, henceforth DA, and Conversation Analysis, henceforth CA. A closer look at DMs, how they are defined by various researchers and what definition will be used for the purpose of this paper will be presented in section 2.4.1.. While some researchers prefer to work with either one or the other separately, there are some who argue that by combining the two approaches one can receive a more detailed result. For the purpose of this thesis the analysis will therefore combine both the discourse and the CA. Generally said, discourse is seen as one of the four levels of language, the remaining three being phonology, morphology and syntax. (Numa 2015: 5)

2.1.1. Discourse Analysis

When using the term DA, linguists refer to an analysis that is "concerned with larger units of language in a specific situational context" (Numa 2015: 5) meaning that, as mentioned before, it does not consider individual words or sentences but rather looks at how these are combined, whether in written or spoken form. Although it is an approach that does not look specifically at those other three traditional levels of language, it does look at how they are organized inside the frame of discourse. When viewing the term from the perspective of linguistic anthropology, sociology or text linguistics, the term *DA* is defined as "language in context" (Numa 2015: 5) and by context are meant the social situations these discourses take place in, adding a more functional aspect to the term. In their innovative work Strauss and Feiz (2013) provide yet another very distinct definition of the term. Strauss and Feiz (2013: 1) characterize discourse as follows:

> [T]he social and cognitive process of putting the world into words, of transforming our perceptions, experiences, emotions, understandings, and desires into a common medium for expression and communication, through language and other semiotic resources.

Despite there being multiple different ideas on how specifically to define DA, the main interest of applied linguists shifts to a more practical side. There are many social situations in which DA is of great value, but for the purpose of this paper, I will only focus on the

distinct context of CD. Various researchers have already affirmed that there has always been an interest in applying the theoretical findings of DA to the classroom, since it is "a viable tool that not only increases the learning opportunities, but also it will help the teacher to theorize their own practice through self-reflection and reassessment of their situated knowledge". (Numa 2015: 5, Sima 2012: 24, Numa 2015: 5)

As far back as 1975, Sinclair and Coulthard looked at CD and how various discourse acts are used in this specific context. Arguing that DA looks at the functional properties of language, they presented twenty-one discourse acts. They say that there are three essential acts that are most prominent in CD. The first main discourse act is elicitation, which is defined as "requesting a linguistic response" (Sinclair 1975: 28), where to is added the important remark that despite the elicited response being linguistic, it can often be non-verbal. When a teacher is asking a question such as "Who did their homework?", students can either respond by saying "Me", by raising their hand or even raising their homework sheet. These non-verbal responses are called "non-verbal surrogates" and are seen as an equivalent of what the verbal response would be in that specific situation. The second one is the directive act. Contrary to elicitation, a directive act is the "request [for] a non-linguistic response" (Sinclair 1975: 28). A teacher saying "Open the windows, please" would usually be followed by one of the students opening the windows. This is seen as a response, since it signals that the listener has acknowledged the request. The last main act is the informative, which has the function of communicating facts, opinions, ideas and information. An appropriate reply would again either be a verbal or a non-verbal one that signals that one has been listening. (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975: 28) In contrast to the approach of Sinclair and Coulthard, Dalton-Puffer (2017) rightfully argues that DA should not only avoid looking at separate acts of discourse, but that even individual lessons are not adequate for such an analysis. Due to discourse being "highly contextualized" (Dalton-Puffer 2017: 168) and being strongly influenced by time and place as well as the distinct participants, looking at isolated discourse texts can raise the difficulty of not knowing what in that discourse is specific to the context it is set in and what could be seen as general concept of discourse, even CD. (Dalton-Puffer 2017: 168)

As far as the specific area of Classroom Discourse Analysis is concerned, it has gained great attention from researchers in the field of linguistics, education but also applied linguistics, just like Discourse Analysis in general. (Christie 2002: 1-2) Since a significant

amount of time in a child's life is spent in school in most societies and it is a priority even economically for all, developed and developing, countries to create an environment which provides an educational possibility for children, it is considered of great importance that the phenomenon of learning and teaching is well understood. (Christie 2002: 2) Language being the tool used for teaching and learning primarily, Classroom Discourse Analysis has gained great importance since it offers insight into how to create an even better learning environment for students. (Christie 2002: 2) One aspect that is important for Classroom Discourse Analysis is the focus on behavior. Behavior, referring to language behavior as well, is seen as a "structure experience" meaning that "as persons take up particular relationships vis-à-vis each other and negotiate some kind of experiential information" this negotiation is seen as a common construction of a discours. (Christie 2002: 3-4) Interestingly, participants are not always aware of the structured nature of these negotiations as they happen. (ibid.) In order to better understand that structures, however, these structures have been analyzed and categorized according to roles and functions in a way that creates a clear overview as will be discussed in greater detail in section 2.2.3.. In the following section, Conversation Analysis, a method which has also been used to gain a better understanding of Classroom Discourse and discourse in general will be presented. Both, the CA and the beforementioned CD will be applied to the empirical part.

2.1.2. Conversation Analysis

Since DA is characterized by a rather distant look at discourse it is relatively difficult to collect the amount of information needed in order to properly analyze the discourse of a classroom, since each transcript would not only need a comprehensive description of the special and temporal context but also a detailed characterization of the participants. Additionally, a proper DA would require to have transcripts of multiple consecutive lessons of one classroom in order to fully grasp all influencing elements that affect discourse. Since this is not really possible in this thesis, there is another approach to analyzing discourse which will be helpful for achieving the goal of looking at whether or not DMs influence student interaction.

In one of his articles, John Heritage (1998) states that the distinctive characteristic of CA is its analysis of meaning and context which is combined with "the idea of sequence" (Heritage 1998: 3). While still preserving a general focus on interactions as well, which is

important to DA, CA presents this "idea of sequence" in that the contexts of conversations are the sequences of action that take place. It can therefore be said that, contrary to DA, CA "has (...) a commitment to analyzing the details of interaction" (Buchholz 2003: 51). Rather than only looking at the importance of social context that DA looks at, as seen before, for CA sequences of action are also of great importance since it is through these sequences and their organization that meaning and also the social context mentioned before are both "dynamically created" (Buchholz 2003: 51) and expressed. CA examines the individual moments and turns that constitute a conversation in order to see "how interactional structure constructs social organization" (Buchholz 2003: 51).

Furthermore, the approach of CA examines the elements that contribute to such a "smooth" discourse in which each participant knows what communicative behavior is expected. Examples would be the study of "turn-taking, turn-ceding, turn-holding and turn-gaining" (Schneider 2014: 234) but also looking at how topics are introduced, guided, managed in order to maintain consistency among all the sequences that various participants add to the discourse. Additionally, Schneider proposes that one highly significant characteristic of CA is also the fact that unlike approaching a discourse with a list of expected and carefully defined categories, it places its focus on interpreting directly from the data without any preconceptions regarding its characteristics. This way, CA depends on close empirical analysis. (Schneider 2014: 234) This is also the reason why it is more adequate for this thesis, since there are a limited number of transcriptions. By applying this analysis there is a greater possibility of achieving more valuable results since every single one is different and provides multiple different discourses. This way separate sequences can be analyzed in terms of how turn taking takes place and how the participants interact with each other in order to create a meaningful conversation. More detailed information about how these approaches are applied to this thesis will be described in the section 2.1.2.

2.2.　　Classroom Discourse

Having discussed different aspects of how DA can be applied to CD, this chapter will focus on the characteristics of CD. Divided into three parts, the first part will present a variety of definitions of CD as well as different characterizations by multiple researchers. Since CD

stands in close relation to learning and conversation, these will also be approached to some extent in order to observe how these aspects influence each other. This will be done in the second part of this chapter where Classroom Interaction Competence will be discussed, which is another important aspect in the learning process. Lastly, in the third part an overview of how the different roles that are involved in CD correlate will be presented. This latter section is of special importance since it establishes a general understanding of each role's essential characteristics which furthermore explain why CD has specific traits and tendencies.

2.2.1. Defining Classroom Discourse

Since Classroom Discourse is a topic of great interest for both teachers and researchers and findings in the area of CD are usually relatively close to the practice of teaching, this section will discuss the influence of CD research has on texts and tools which provide teachers with practical information as well as principles for how to improve their CD. One factor, for instance, that influenced CD greatly in the past few decades is the importance which was attributed to the use of language. While it is obvious that language is an important part of CD, its role in learning has been discovered to a new depth which eventually influenced the development of teaching approaches such as the Communicative Language Teaching. This section will also discuss the seeming contradiction of CLT and the roles of teachers and students which seem to be rather fixed within the context of CD. In order to pursue the question of how the distribution of talking time can be influenced by specific factors, the following section will provide meaningful insight into both, what has influenced CD and to what extent CD can be influenced.

Only ever since the 1960s research on CD has rapidly advanced, despite its presence in research already since the 1930. The main cause for its growth at that moment was the diversity of students in the classroom that was growing progressively and caused social changes in schools which "created a need for new ways of understanding teaching, learning, and classroom interaction" (Skukauskaite 2015:44). This diversity is still present in today's classrooms and is even acknowledged by the official structure of the school, so much that it was even implemented in the EPOSTL, a document which

provides valuable insight into concepts and competences that future teachers of languages should acquire. Since the context of this present study is within the classroom, it is interesting and important to see how CD is influenced by different factors which have directly or indirectly an effect on the speaking time distribution in classroom discourse in general. As previously stated the goal of this thesis is to analyze the effect of DMs on the student talking time and thereby on the CD. However, it is also necessary to see why students and teachers have different roles and responsibilities within the CD and to gain insight into how researchers view CD as well as understand how CD is approached by authorities within the context of teaching. One statement from the EPOSTL, for example, which highlights the importance of linguistic and cultural diversity in the classroom and therefore the CD is: "The Role of the Language Teacher: I can appreciate and make use of the value added to the classroom environment by learners with diverse cultural backgrounds" (EPOSTL 2007: 17). Skukauskaite's (2015) definition of the term discourse also highlights that same aspect of CD, arguing that it could be defined as a "talk among different groupings or kinds of people" (Skukauskaite 2015: 56). However, this definition also brings another aspect to our attention, the difference between the speakers is not only concerning their linguistic backgrounds but it is also reflective of the asymmetrical roles in CD, where the teacher has a more authoritative role than the students. This aspect will be dealt with in greater detail in section 1.2.3. Another important, however rather obvious characteristic of CD is that the use of language is always a substantial part of it. It is not only essential for communicating knowledge but also for accessing and acquiring that knowledge. Language is present at the center of classroom activities, building and cultivating relationships and developing new skills, but it is also through language that problems of communication and understanding are identified and dealt with. Walsh (2011: 28) puts it quite visually when he claims that "[l]anguage, quite simply, lies at the heart of everything". While language has always been unanimously seen as important in the CD, especially in language classrooms since it is the vehicle and the target at the same time, interactive language has gained new ground in the research about CD. With the rise of Communicative Language Teaching and the great amount of research of talking time, it has been generally accepted that interaction between teacher and student and among students is aiding massively in the learning process. Teaching guides such as the EPOSTL encourage future teachers to develop their ability of creating the right environment for such interactions to take place: I can

evaluate and select activities which help learners to participate in ongoing spoken exchanges (conversations, transactions etc.) and to initiate or respond to utterances appropriately. (EPOSTL 2007: 21)

On the one hand, creating this room for students to interact is one of the goals of the communicative language teaching approach, on the other hand, studies have shown that despite many great ambitions of increasing student talking time, the roles of the teacher and the student still remain widely different in speaking time as well as in authority. The ones who guide and control the discourse and interactions are usually the teachers, while the learners play the role of participants, who, no matter how learner-centered the classroom values are, still have way less authority and hold less power in the CD than teachers do. (Schneider 2014: 229) Supporting the same result, Bentley's (2007) study of one year on how talking time is distributed in classrooms showed not only that teachers did take up significantly more of the talking time, but also that each of the two groups, teachers and students, had specific utterances that characterized their talking time. While teachers used their talking time to "instruct, […], explain, check, correct, prompt, scaffold, […], summar[ize], give feedback [and] tell anecdotes" (Bentley 2007: 130), students' utterances where usually in response to the teacher and repeating language or collaborative talk, socializing and commenting on their colleagues. However, they both asked questions, gave opinions and read out loud as part of their speaking time. (Bentley 2007: 130) It is, therefore, true that even in the context of Communicative Language Teaching which focuses on learner-centered teaching it is still the teacher that holds the role of controlling the CD. (Walsh 2011: 29) While this is visible in the talking time, teachers still strive to create space for interactions, as previously mentioned.

2.2.2. Classroom Interactional Competence

In order to create a classroom environment where students are encouraged to actively participate in dialogues with each other as well as in group conversations and where they feel free to interact with the teacher and actively contribute despite sometimes not knowing the right answer, it is important to create a classroom environment where learners feel safe to use the target language despite not always using it perfectly. (Walsh 2011: 52) This safe environment is mainly cultivated actively and intentionally by the teacher but

then also maintained by students who keep participating willingly and proactively. Walsh (2011: 52) described the concept of Classroom Interactional Competence as a tool that helps both teachers and learners to navigate through CD in a way that benefits the teaching and learning process the most. Before looking at that concept in more detail, however, it is important to first look at how Discourse and Communicative Competence are generally described in the Common European Framework Reference which influences the classroom curricula directly.

Besides describing details about the different competence levels concerning discourse and spoken language, the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) makes an interesting statement about the ubiquitous importance of discourse skills. It states that discourse skills are something that every person is confronted with from an early age, first in their mother tongue and later on in any language they start to learn. These skills may at first only consist of short turns which are used in order to "initiate, maintain and close simple, face-to-face conversation" and use "basic linear connectors like 'and' or 'then'" , but the higher the language proficiency, the more complex and important the development of this competence. (CEFR 2002: 123-125). The higher the level of proficiency, however, the more important the complexity of discourse skills becomes. Speakers are expected to perform at a higher level in terms of flexibility in topic areas, navigate the floor efficiently "in order to get the floor, or to gain time and keep the floor whilst thinking", but also in terms of coherence and cohesion where, compared to simple connectors such as the ones mentioned before, speakers are to "create coherent and cohesive text making fll and appropriate use of a variety of organisational patterns and a wide range of cohesive devices". (CEFR 2002: 123-125) Since the CEFR is an important point of reference for future teachers, it is interesting to see the value that is being placed on interactions. Generally, it presents three levels of communicative competence: the linguistic level, the sociolinguistic level and the pragmatic level which are described in greater detail in the framework. (CEFR 2002: 13) For our purposes, however, pragmatic competence is of greatest interest since it is "concerned with the functional use of linguistic resources" (CEFR 2002: 13), showing again that linguistic, interactive and discourse skills are both a vehicle and a target in the language classroom. We see this clearly stated: "[pragmatic competence] also concerns the mastery of discourse, cohesion and coherence […]" (CEFR 2002: 13).

Now, one main feature of all these competences that have been mentioned above is the ability to properly navigate turns. As previously mentioned, turn taking is present in interactions, communication and discourse no matter how low the proficiency level. While the rules of turn-taking may differ from one context to another, it can be generally said that in spoken interaction it is common for participants to "speak and yet listen to each other simultaneously" (CEFR 2002: 14). Interaction is in fact important for two reasons: one the one hand, it is through interaction that a lot of learning takes place and, on the other hand, "good" interactive skills are a target that students are being guided towards throughout their journey of language learning. (CEFR 2002: 14, 28, 29) In the CEFR, it is therefore even mentioned separately as a level of competence in speaking, the other levels being range, accuracy, fluency and coherence. (CEFR 2002: 14) Range, being defined as the range of vocabulary and expressions, accuracy concerning grammatical accuracy but also an appropriate control of vocabulary as well as socio-linguistic appropriacy while coherence and fluency concern the structure of the discourse and the fluency in expressing one's thoughts. (CEFR 2002: 195)

Beside the aforementioned competences, there is another very useful for the context of this paper: Classroom Interactional Competence (CIC). This competence, as described by Walsh (2011) proves to be a great tool for both teachers and learners. Walsh (2011: 55) says that the CIC can be achieved by teachers

> not only creat[ing] opportunities for participation, but increase[ing] student engagement (both at the individual and whole class levels), promot[ing] dialogic interaction, enhance[ing] affordances by allowing increased wait-time, by paraphrasing and shaping learner responses.

Accurately capturing the different dynamics of CIC and the importance of intentionality and reflection from the side of the teacher in encouraging this competence in their classroom, this statement lays a useful basis for further discussion. His definition shows that CIC is about increasing the interactive competence that was mentioned in the previous chapter, but also about raising Language Awareness which within the teaching context means to help students understand how the language they are learning can be used in different contexts. However, It is also about advancing from the basic understanding of language, of "form", as Marsh (2012) puts it, to the understanding and applying of its "meaning" (Marsh 2012: 58). This perspective of language will be discussed in greater detail when talking about DMs in section 1.4.. Since this thesis is about how DMs are used in CD to encourage students' participation and increase interaction, it will

be of great use to express how DMs have a great variety of meanings depending on very specific contexts. However, even in the context of CIC, language awareness is very important because it is through raising this awareness that students will be more successful not only at learning the target language but also at "achiev[ing] deeper understanding of how to use languages in communication". (Marsh 2012: 58) Since this study is set in the specific context of CLIL classrooms, it is also worth mentioning that Language Awareness is seen as one of the most important features of CLIL, Marsh (2012: 63) even describing it as "one of the pillars for success […] of CLIL" and therefore argues for the importance of implementing it in language teaching.

Returning to the quote about how teachers can increase CIC, there is one aspect that stands as a great representation for the intentionality that is necessary for this competence: wait-time, which is defined as "the duration of teacher pauses after questions" (Swift and Gooding 1985: 721). In his pioneering study on the aspect of wait time Rowe studied the wait time patterns of teachers for over six years to see how teachers used it and how different wait times influenced classroom interaction. This study provides useful insight showing the extent to which teachers can influence classroom interaction and that waiting time can in fact be increased through training and intentional self-reflection. The average wait time of a teacher before repeating, rephrasing or asking a different question is only one second, but Rowe's (1974a: 81) study showed that it can be increased to up to five seconds with specific training. Although Rowe states that improvement in interaction is only visible after a longer period of using increased waiting time, the results are still visible and worth mentioning. He stated that in classrooms where wait-time was increased, students gave longer responses and that students were also more eager to give responses without being called by their name.

Not only were they more confident in interacting, sometimes even giving "speculative responses" (Rowe 1974a: 81), but learners also asked more questions and had a far more varied range of interactive moves than learners in classrooms with short wait times. Besides effects on the interaction with the teacher, Rowe's study showed that an increased wait-time even has positive influences on how students plan their tasks and organize themselves during activities. (Rowe 1974b: 291-292). Additionally, Rowe's (1974a: 81) study also showed an increase in responses from students who were rated as having a lower language proficiency. This distinction between students of lower and

higher language proficiency is relevant and worth mentioning since Rowe discovered that teachers' wait time actually differs when speaking to a learner they consider to be "better" or "worse" respectively, the wait time being even two times as long for those they consider to be "better" students (two seconds). (Rowe 1974a: 84). It is therefore interesting to see that a longer wait time actually creates a space for responding for those students who usually do not get enough time to do it properly. Rowe (1974b: 291-292) goes as far as to diagnose this behavior as a "low sense of fate control" that is caused by teachers not leaving enough time for students to respond or react to their questions.

Therefore, since an increased waiting time has visible results as I just mentioned before, it is clear that a low wait time also has effects on classroom interaction. That "low sense of fate control" is expressed in learners for example not taking risks in answering questions without being asked or that they do not know the answer to completely. Rowe (1974b: 291-292) Now, even if in this thesis the transcripts that will be analyzed do not indicate wait time, this information is still valuable for the analysis that will follow in the second part of this paper. Knowing that wait time influences interactions as well, we will have to be more careful in analyzing the results that come from my study on DMs and their influence on interaction. Since CD is a very complex field to study, it is of course difficult to only take out one aspect and analyze its isolated effect, since there are plenty of elements that play a role.

An additional element which plays an important role, besides wait-time, is whether or not the teacher manages to create a safe environment for students which can be influenced by how teachers respond to students. A safe environment may seem too abstract a topic for this paper, but it is important to consider all aspects that can affect interaction in classrooms and creating that safe feeling is actually even mentioned in the EPOSTL. Besides enumerating the benefits of such an environment, such as improved learning motivation and increased active participation, the EPOSTL offers a short and simple point of view of what that safe environment should look like. For the purpose of this chapter we will take out one of those aspects, namely, that students should be given opportunities to "express [their] ideas and emotions" (EPOSTL 2007: 73). This means that, besides increasing learner confidence by an increased wait time, there are some other tools teachers can use to make learners feel more at ease when using the target language and more willing to participate in the discourse and express themselves freely. So, how do

teachers create those opportunities in which learners feel welcome to "express [their] ideas and emotions"? In the quote mentioned above, Walsh (2011: 55) said that CIC can be increased by "paraphrasing and shaping learner responses". Although the act of paraphrasing learners' responses does not seem innovative and confidence building at first sight, it is worth looking at it in more detail.

Walsh said that it can be a great tool for encouraging students to participate so this means that there has to be something besides paraphrasing a learner's response as teachers have done in the past, often for the sole reason of correcting what was just said before. Schneider (2014: 230), too, said that "[t]eachers' responses are often short evaluations of learner contributions and do little to advance learner engagement or language development. We can imagine that if a student manages to come up with a response but lacks the correct grammar, appropriate vocabulary or sentence structure, seeing that the teacher has acknowledged their answer and has valued it despite it not being fully correct, their self-esteem will be raised and that will encourage them to continue risking giving responses that they are not fully sure about and therefore participation will be increased. A teacher's actual answer in that case may not be very different from one which is a paraphrase in order to correct, but intonation, gestures, the way the teacher backchannels while the learner is responding, all leave them knowing that they have the space to try, make mistakes and learn. This all happens while also providing learners with the correct version of their answer.

Although the topic of listening may seem vague, researchers have actually studied the skill of listening a lot. They found out that, as mentioned before briefly, the way of listening does have an impact on CD and since, contrary to popular belief, listening is not "entirely automatic" (Scrivener 2012: 44), it is a skill that can be very useful for teachers if they make conscious and intentional choices about what type of listening to use in which context. Scrivener (2012: 45), for example, shows three distinct types of listening: conversational, analytical and supportive listening. While the first type of listening is usually not appropriate for CD, since it would mean not really listening to what is being said and, according to Scrivener's (2012: 45) definition "allow ourselves to drift in and out" of a conversation, the remaining two are certainly useful. However, it is still important to apply an appropriate amount of conversational listening in order to "avoid hearing only the answer [they] anticipated" (Myhill, Jones and Hopper 2006: 116). Thereby, teachers can

assure themselves that they listen beyond the answer they expected and grasp the possibility to discover likely valuable thoughts but also questions and misunderstandings towards a topic or a question that has been asked. (ibid.)

To support the difference that was mentioned before, about "paraphrasing and shaping learner response" (Walsh 2011: 55), these two listening styles come in very handy. Although not directly referring to how teachers respond to something a learner has said, they clearly show the different attitudes that can create that safe environment that we talked about earlier. On the one hand there is the analytical listening that Scrivener (2012: 44) describes as

> [l]istening and giving comments about grammar mistakes or choice of vocabulary, rather than responding to the message. […] Teacher analyzes what the problems are with the student's communication and gives feedback or initiates reflection that helps the learner convey what they want to say more effectively and more accurately.

This shows an attitude that is frequent in CD, since teachers are often focused on accuracy rather than on the content of what learners say in order to be able to provide them with sufficient feedback on how to improve their language proficiency or for the teacher him or herself to know what linguistic topic to address in their teaching. Now while this type of listening "follows the teacher's agenda", as Scrivener (2012: 45) puts it, supportive listening "follow[s] the speaker's agenda". While he puts this type of listening into the context of listening to something personal a learner is saying, which is does not always have to be the case for this listening to take place, the way he characterizes it shows that it can be used in the classroom for multiple reasons and at many occasions: being completely focused on the speaker, "stay[ing] with the student's story and hear[ing] the message they want to convey" (Scrivener 2012: 44).

In agreement with Scrivener, I think it is important to mention that both types of listening are equally important for CD; however for the purpose of this thesis, it is also important to mention that for the sake of interaction, it is more beneficial to sometimes choose to overlook mistakes and focus on the content. To return to the point of intentionality, it is also interesting to see that teachers tend to apply analytical listening more than supportive listening when they start teaching. (Scrivener 2012: 45) This is why it is important to intentionally choose supportive listening whenever possible and beneficial and why Scrivener (2012: 45) even mentioned "training" that helps teachers with using this listening

skill. When managing to create the right balance between both listening styles, that safe place can be successfully created and students will be more prone to interact.

A third and last aspect I want to pick out of Walsh's (2011: 55) quote about how to increase that CIC is "creat[ing] opportunities for participation, but increase[ing] student engagement (both at the individual and whole class levels), promot[ing] dialogic interaction". This shows that besides offering enough wait time and providing a safe affective environment through supportive listening, classroom interaction can be improved through the right tasks where students have multiple occasions to speak and use the target language, whether in pairs, groups or in the plenum. It is important to not expect students to simply interact, but to create dedicated spaces in the CD for these interactions and to intentionally invite students to participate.

Since tasks seems to be a fairly broad term, a definition offered by the CEFR (2002: 157) will be applied.

> Tasks are a feature of everyday life in the personal, public, educational or occupational domains. Task accomplishment by an individual involves the strategic activation of specific competences in order to carry out a set of purposeful actions in a particular domain with a clearly defined goal and a specific outcome [...]. Tasks can be extremely varied in nature, and may involve language activities to a greater or lesser extent, for example: creative (...), skills based (...), problem solving (...), routine transactions, interpreting a role in a play, taking part in a discussion, giving a presentation, planning a course of action, reading and replying to (an e-mail) message, etc.

According to this quote from the CEFR, we see that the term task describes just what Walsh said was needed for an improved Classroom Interaction: it is an occasion specifically designed for students to engage, participate, and interact (Walsh 2011: 55). Not only literature indicates the high benefit of using communicative tasks to improve student interaction, but also the EPOSTL, which being a guide for future students, has an important role in the shaping of CD. In the following there are a few examples taken from the EPOSTL which are good examples for that. The first two quotes (EPOSTL 2007: 21, 41) show perfectly that the teacher should on the one hand provide the "activities" where students have the possibility to use the target language, but there also has to be an active encouragement for participation which should complement the provision of the task.

> I can evaluate and select activities which help learners to participate in ongoing spoken exchanges (conversations, transactions etc.) and to initiate or respond to utterances appropriately.

> I can encourage learner participation whenever possible.

Another important aspect of implementing tasks is to make them versatile, as for example regarding different language styles: "I can evaluate and select various activities to help learners to identify and use typical features of spoken language (informal language, fillers etc.)". (EPOSTL 2007: 21) It is generally agreed that teachers are responsible for providing students with the appropriate language knowledge and helping them develop language skills needed for these tasks. However, as will be discussed in section 1.4., it is also just as important to teach them sociolinguistic competence in order to know what type of language to use in which context, or as the CEFR put it: so they would have "the ability to act in accordance with the types of convention[s] […] and to perform the expected routines […] (CEFR 2002, 104). This relates perfectly to another statement from the EPOSTL which accentuates the need of teaching communication and compensation strategies, which again go beyond teaching solely linguistic competences: "I can help learners to use communication strategies (asking for clarification, comprehension checks etc.) and compensation strategies (paraphrasing, simplification etc) when engaging in spoken interaction." (EPOSTL 2007: 22) While Bentley argues that it is necessary for learners to know the "purpose and outcome of the task" (2007: 132-133), which is certainly true for most tasks, it is also true that sociolinguistics competence and communication strategies are often parts of a task which are not explicitly stated as a goal but something that should become a tool for achieving goals of various tasks.

2.2.3. Roles in Classroom Discourse

Traditionally, there are two roles in the classroom and these are relatively straightforward: the teacher and the students. Sometimes in CLIL classrooms or language lessons, there is an additional teacher or language assistant, but for the purpose of this paper these are still seen as the "teacher" role (see chapter 2.1.1. Participants). Even if it can be assumed that the responsibilities of both roles are somewhat clear, for this thesis it is still important to go into more detail about how the discourse is divided between these two roles. As it has been previously stated, language is best learned through speaking and interacting. Therefore, it seems logical to have looked at how that speaking time can be increased for the benefit of the students. This chapter will look at the reason beyond the significant discrepancy in speaking time distribution that should be analyzed in the first place. Christiane Dalton-Puffer put it in a simple way that gives a clear perspective of how CD roles are distributed: "The main discourse is firmly in the hands of the teacher, who

controls the topic and manages the turn taking. The parallel discourse is controlled by the students" (Dalton Puffer 2007: 28).

Generally speaking, in any context where there are two roles that are not equal but rather complement each other, it can be assumed that there is one role which initiates and one which responds. These initiations and responses are usually taken from predetermined sets that are specific for each role (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 24). Dalton-Puffer explains that this role distribution, where there is one participant who is responsible for initiating and one who fulfills the role of responding, is typical for classroom contexts and can be seen as "relationships of dominance-submission or nurturance-dependency" (2007: 24). Walsh even says that these asymmetrical roles are typical for "any institutional discourse setting" (2011: 29) . Now, with terms like "dominance-submission" (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 24) and "asymmetrical roles" (Walsh 2011: 29) it is quite easy to think that the teacher nearly abuses the role of the dominant participant while students are suppressed, which, however, is not the case. These terms describe their responsibilities rather than the rights of each participant. While teachers generally guide the lesson by introducing and navigating through topics and controlling turn-taking, students have the responsibility to respond appropriately and follow the instructions they are given. (Walsh 2011: 29)

Dalton-Puffer and Walsh both describe the main responsibility of a teacher as managing the CD and turn-taking. Even though this might seem simple, it is a rather complex skill to manage a classroom successfully since it includes various aspects that should all work together towards an improved learning environment. One aspect that seems to be difficult, especially for novice teachers, is that they rely on a great amount of theoretical information about classroom management, classroom discourse or language teaching and confront themselves with new situations that cannot be navigated with only the theoretical knowledge. For instance, concerning CD, novice teachers know the moves and schemata of such a discourse, but often in a fairly limited way. Wolff (2012: 113) describes this as "interactions related to the «here and now» (please, close the window! Open your books on p.25! Your homework will be…)" , so since the management of CD is more than that we will have a look at how different classroom management can actually be.

The two poles of how one can fulfill the role of the managing teacher are micromanagement and a no control approach. Of course, both have the goal to increase interaction and speaking time as much as possible, but with different strategies and,

apparently also different results. Micromanagement, for example, tries to benefit every moment during the lesson, in order to be as efficient as possible by controlling every detail of any interaction. Whether it is turn taking, timing or participation, teachers who use this strategy do not leave much space for students to choose the moment they want to participate in or what topic they would like to talk about. This type of strategy comes with a relatively predetermined lesson structure and very guided discourse. While some teachers prefer this high level of control as a standard approach to their lessons, the majority of teachers use it only as part of certain lessons, combining it with approaches of less or no control. (Scrivener 2012: 52) As Dalton-Puffer (2007: 24) put it, teachers are "manager[s] of the interaction" that takes place in a classroom and, despite the micromanagement approach trying to increase interaction through a high amount of guidance, it is the *no control approach* that has proven to be more efficient in doing that. (Scrivener: 2012: 54)

Just like the question between high control management and no control management, the question of a learner-guided versus a teacher-guided approach has often been raised. If we would take the definition of the previously described high control management approach, we see that it can also be clearly referred to as teacher-guided, which means that the learner-guided approach would refer to the same principles and characteristics as the no-control management approach. There is, however, one interesting argument that advocates the use of "teacher-guided interaction" (Wolff 2012: 114) as a term for the latter approach. Wolff argues that classroom interaction should ideally be guided by teachers, even if in a nontraditional way. He claims that "[w]ell-trained teachers can guide classroom interactions without impeding the students' autonomy and creative thinking" and hereby shows that an ideal "teacher-guided interaction" (2012: 114) is one where students are guided subtly but deliberately by a teacher who knows how to make students reach their goals by themselves, not by being controlled but by being delicately guided towards that goal. This requires a great amount of self-reflection and introspection. Despite not strictly being a no-control approach, this presents an approach which may solicit less explicit control from the teacher but certainly not less effort, since the responsibility of guiding requires just as much preparation as a more explicitly teacher– guided approach. In order to create a context where students do interact and participate without always having to be called out by name and told exactly what to do, the teacher has to create a classroom culture in which students know what to do. Letting go of

controlling the discourse does not mean letting go of the role of a teacher. This means that he or she has to be aware of the fact that "their actions, reflecting their attitudes and abilities, are a most important part of the environment for language learning/acquisition" (CEFR 2002, 144).

Whether teachers choose to apply a higher or lesser degree of control in their teaching, the goal of increasing interaction should still be a goal for both and this is also reflected in many statements of the EPOSTL (2007:21):

> I can create a supportive atmosphere that invites learners to take part in speaking activities.
> I can evaluate and select meaningful speaking and interactional activities to encourage learners to express their opinions, identity, culture etc.
> I can evaluate and select a variety of materials to stimulate speaking activities (visual aids, texts, authentic materials etc.).

Here we can see that providing a safe, encouraging and intentionally engaging learning environment is at the centre of the teacher role, which only reflects what has been described in more detail in the previous chapters. As for the role of the student, we know that it is a "complementing" role, as Dalton-Puffer defines it (2007: 24), which means that it is equally important and indispensable. However, it is very different. Instead of initiating and actively guiding, the role of the student can be generally characterized as a responsive role since every action students have is basically a reaction to something the teacher has asked them or told them to do. This exchange was put into a more detailed form and analyzed in great detail by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) who called it the IRF and IRE structure. The first step of this exchange being, as previously mentioned, the Initiation made by the teacher, whether it is in the form of a question, a statement the learners are called to react to or even some kind of visual or hearing material that is meant to elicit a response (EPOSTL 2007: 21). The second step belongs to the learner and has the broad term of Response, which can include a verbal or non-verbal response (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975: 28) and is followed by the third part of this exchange structure which can either be Feedback or Evaluation and is again a part of the teacher's role. (Schneider 2014: 230)

Even though this structure describes pretty accurately what typical exchanges look like in the CD, it has also been greatly criticized. Walsh (2011: 29) argued that too much power of decision was attributed to the role of teacher since he or she chooses what the learner should respond to and in what way, which is similar to the critique of the

micromanagement approach discussed previously. Schneider criticized the imbalance of moves assigned to each role. (2014: 233) The fact that out of the three parts of the structure two are ascribed to the role of the teacher means that the learner's response is always conditioned and therefore limited by the teacher's initiation. (Schneider 2014: 230) While it is true that, according to this exchange structure, for every move from the learner, there are two moves from the teacher, which does clearly create an imbalance, it is also true that the response of the learner is not necessarily strictly limited. As already mentioned, a teacher can use their guidance and Initiation to encourage learner interaction and elicit responses and reactions that are more complex than the initiation itself. Another important aspect worth mentioning is that the teacher can adapt their initiation according to the learners. According to each teacher's preference, they can either stick to their plan or let the students influence the direction of the lessons. (EPOSTL 38 (2)) By doing so, teachers display flexibility and encourage student interaction by showing that their input is valued and considered. This shows that the structure of IRF/E is not restrictive in itself but only provides a frame for CD. As for Feedback or Evaluation, these can also be impactful in a way that strengthens the learner's confidence which also adds to a more proactive participation. However, it is also true that this structure can be overused which then only accentuates the imbalance that already exists. Since the roles and responsibilities of teachers and learners are clearly different which, as we have seen, creates an imbalance in speaking time, it is even more important for teachers to be aware of their role in increasing student speaking time.

The roles and principles of CD, as mentioned throughout this section, generally apply to all classrooms, although the degree to which they do so may vary. The next section, however, discusses a very specific form of classroom, one that integrates both language learning and content learning into one lesson. While this could mean that teachers gain twice the amount of responsibility and they could therefore make use of twice as much talking time in order to explain both, the target language and the content they are teaching, it is interesting to see how the roles apply in this context. Since language is not only either the subject that is studied or simply a tool used to teach another subject, teachers of CLIL have the challenge of creating a learning environment in which increasing student speaking time could be seen as even more essential for students to efficiently acquire competences and knowledge in both the language and the subject.

2.4.   Content and Language Integrated Learning

2.4.1. Historical and scientific background to CLIL

Another important part of this thesis is the setting in which the lessons that are being analyzed take place, namely CLIL. All the transcripts that this thesis is analysed are set in different schools, during different lessons and different grades but the one element that unites them all is that they are all set in the context of CLIL. CLIL, or Content and Language Integrated Learning is therefore an essential part of this thesis, which is why the following section will discuss its main characteristics. Additionally, it will also be discussed how the development of CLIL influenced classroom discourse to a large extent, from how it is perceived to various practical ways that CLIL changed the format of a lesson.

The concept and term Content and Language Integrated Learning was developed as an answer to these two questions that institutions all over Europe were concerned with: how to improve the relationship between Europe's countries at the level of education and how to "improv[e] foreign language learning and teaching methodologies" (Llinares 2017: 1). Building an educational strategy in which students were encouraged to achieve a higher level of proficiency in a foreign language would mean an increase in the number of citizens who speak more than one language and would therefore be more likely to have an easier communication with other European citizens. However, not only would this be beneficial for international connections which the European Union considered increasingly important, but even inside the classroom where the diversity of students' backgrounds became more prominent. (Schneider 2014: 235) What was formerly considered the general L1 in a classroom was now an assumption that was not true in most cases. Therefore, since the language of instruction was not one that was necessarily the L1 for a significant part of the classroom, a language of instruction which was not the L1 for the majority of the students was integrated. This meant an increasing possibility of international connections from an early age and an occasion for students to learn a second language in a more natural way compared to the language classroom. (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 3) This argument was also supported by studies done in the field of psychology which further accentuated the importance of combining language and content teaching. They showed that the success of students learning a language is the highest when they

are actively using the language but especially "when [they] are involved in the content they are dealing with" (Wolff 2012: 108), thus providing another strong point for giving students the opportunity to learn a second language by not focusing explicitly on the language but rather on the content they need the language for.

Ever since this concept was introduced, it has been integrated in classrooms in various ways and with different intentions based on the country's historical and cultural background. Some schools in specific regions of Spain, for example, introduced the concept of CLIL for all schools in that region in order to "revitalize Catalan after the Spanish dictatorship" which resulted in the majority of subjects being taught in Catalan. (Goris 2019, 684). In Sweden, however, the approach was different from the beginning, since the possibility of attending CLIL classes was offered as an optional way of improving one's secondary language skills and was aimed at more proficient speakers, while in Austria CLIL is seen as a "school-wide CLIL enrichment project" for "average learners". (Goris, 2019, 694) However, whether optional or obligatory, CLIL has influenced school systems in Europe to a great extent. (Wolff 2012: 106) Despite the fact that the transcripts used for this thesis as well as most CLIL lessons in Europe use English as the language of instruction, the concept of CLIL was not designed for one language specifically. (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 1, Marsh 2012: 156) The high frequency of English in this context could be attributed to the fact that English as a Lingua Franca is becoming an increasingly relevant and since one of the initial goals of CLIL was to create a basis for better communication between countries of the European Union, it is more practical to teach English to every student than to have various students learn different European Languages.

2.4.2. Integrating Language Teaching into Content Teaching

Already from the name it is obvious that the *Integration* of Language is an important part of CLIL. However, this integration does not only mean that a different language is used and therefore "integrated" into a content lesson, but rather that the *teaching* of language is integrated into the teaching of content. (Dalton-Puffer 2013: 219) As Dalton-Puffer (2013: 219) put it, "CLIL lessons are *timetabled* as content-lessons, taught by *specialist teachers* of those subjects through the medium of English, and follow the national *curriculum* of the content subject" (emphasis is mine). Despite the curriculum of CLIL

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classes generally being more guided by the content lesson of CLIL, teachers are expected to be specialists in both the content and the language. As mentioned previously, CLIL is not only the integration of Language but of Language Teaching, so teachers who practice CLIL need to have knowledge and competence in both, language and content pedagogy. (Dalton-Puffer 2013: 219-220)

Another reason why it is important for CLIL teachers to understand how languages are learned is that, even if it was not a foreign language they were teaching in, language still is the medium through which content is taught in any lesson. (Marsh 2012: 63) Understanding how difficulties in language can influence learners in learning the content or participating in the lesson is essential for any teacher, especially now that classes are becoming increasingly heterogeneous in language backgrounds and it can be assumed that not every student is on the same level of language proficiency. (Wolff 2012: 112, 114) This can mean that the teacher has to reassure themselves if not students who struggle with responding to questions have difficulties understanding the question from a linguistic point of view. It is true that the primary responsibility for teaching the second language still lies with the language teachers, however, since it is not a language that students master at a high level of proficiency at the moment they are participating in CLIL lessons, it has to be assumed that they are still in the process of learning the language even in a content lesson. The complexity of this process of learning a language is therefore something that teachers should be acquainted with. Psychologically, learning is described as a "complex cognitive process" (Frederiksen 2015: 97) which develops knowledge that is gained and built into language competence. This is done by building new pathways in the mind of the learner, every time new information is learned, whether this learning is conscious or not. (EPOSTL 2007: 76) This process can be successfully accomplished when the learner uses this gained knowledge to "understand, reason, communicate and solve problems" (Frederiksen 2015: 97).

It is for all the reasons mentioned above that the guidelines presented by the EPOSTL and CEFR are important and relevant even in the context of CLIL, despite it not being the context of a language lesson, strictly speaking. This is why statements from the EPOSTL and the CEFR have been mentioned throughout this thesis and why they should be taken into consideration when talking about CD and teacher role in Content and Language Integrated Learning. However, there is also a significant number of additional characteristics related to the role of CLIL teachers that have been mentioned by different

researchers. The following list is an example of some of these characteristics which coincide with what has been previously discussed regarding teacher roles (see section 2.2.3.) According to them, teachers need to:

- Understand "the factors influencing second language learning". Wolff 2012: 112
- Know "the differences between first and second language learning". Wolff 2012: 112
- Comprehend "how learners are able to store and retain the new language in their brain". Wolff 2012: 112
- Realize "how they are able to separate it from their first or any other language they speak". Wolff 2012: 112
- Be aware of "how humans comprehend and produce language either orally or in written form". Wolff 2012: 112
- Have "the ability to actively use language for teaching and learning". Marsh 2012: 63
- Be able to use the language at a high level of proficiency. Marsh 2012: 63
- Understand how language is used for learning. Marsh 2012: 63
- "[H]ave a thorough knowledge of what discourse is (including every day and Classroom Discourse)." Wolff 2012: 114
- "[K]now the strategic repertoire which characterizes everyday discourse, formal discourse and CD." Wolff 2012: 114
- Have "background knowledge of the relationship between thinking (concepts) andlanguage." Wolff 2012: 114
- Be aware of "models of linguistic interaction, especially those of a socio-constructivist nature which permit the joint negotiation of meaning." Wolff 2012: 114
- "[B]e able to correctly judge interactional difficulties" Wolff 2012: 114
- Know "the way people can be influenced by interactional strategies." Wolff 2012: 114

All these elements, and many more, need to be taken into consideration when teaching in a CLIL context and this list makes it clear that a great accent is placed on knowledge about the process of learning. This process, as previously mentioned is indeed one that is psychologically complex, since learners have to go through various stages of structuring new knowledge into categories according to pattern, meaning and relevance and then connect that newly gained knowledge to previous information and skills. (EPOSTL 2007: 76) There is, however, one aspect which is essential for the process of learning to function even better: interaction. As Schneider (2014: 228) put it: "interaction lies at the very heart of our understanding of learning". We have already discussed the importance of interaction in CD in chapter 1.2., nonetheless it is important to mention that CLIL can present a unique 'opportunity' for learners to use language in contexts which is not directly

related to the. Through activities and tasks where students are given the occasion to use language in conversations about relatively complex topics, they can apply the language they have been learning in interactions that can challenge since these interactions go "beyond the conversational level of basic daily transactions" (Bentley 2007: 138) or even interactive tasks that are presented in a language classroom. Dalton-Puffer (2007: 8) explains it in the following way: "[learning] takes place in a context where the knowledge or skill to be acquired is usually required or practiced". This coincides with what was mentioned before, namely, that giving students the opportunity to use language in a social context where new content is discussed and learned provides them with the authentic opportunity of using the language they are learning in conversations with their peers and teachers.

2.4. Discourse markers

This chapter will present the main element that is analyzed in this thesis: discourse markers. Although it is not easy to find a definition that the majority of researchers share, the function and effect of DMs is generally agreed upon. One of many studies that investigated the use and function of DM in CD was conducted by Vickov and Jakupcevic (2017: 668) and their results reflect the view of many researchers, regarding this point. They demonstrated that DMs "[…] contribute to the students' understanding and easier and more successful participation in CD" arguing that this effect qualifies DMs as "invaluable parts of the language of instruction". Consistently, Walsh (2013: 32) also stated that DMs "help a class 'stay together' and work in harmony". These two arguments are only some examples of the positive impact DMs have on CD. This is why this thesis is focused on studying how DMs used in CLIL classes influence the CD and how it influences students' interaction and participation. Before going into more detail about functions and characteristics of the DMs that have been analyzed, this chapter is first going to present three different approaches which define and characterize DMs.

2.4.1. Defining discourse markers

Despite the fact that DMs have been a topic of interest for linguists and researchers, there still has not been an agreement on the definition and not even on the term that should be used for describing this category. As already mentioned, the only element researchers can agree on is the function and effect of DMs, which will be described in more detail later

in this chapter. (Chapeton 2009: 76) In order to set a basis for the following empirical study of this paper, it is necessary to look at some approaches to defining DMs which have shaped the working definition for this thesis. Fraser (1988), Hansen (1998) and Schneider (2014) all present interesting aspects of DMs which together contribute to an understanding of DMs which is essential for the analysis of how they influence talking time but also for understanding the possible reasons for how and why teachers use them when teaching.

The first definition that I am going to present is by Bruce Fraser (1988) whose starting point for his definition was to differentiate content meaning from pragmatic meaning, which are both representations of how a sentence can be analyzed. Contrary to content meaning, the analysis of a sentence's pragmatic meaning is to not take only the words of an utterance to analyze their meaning, but to examine also the context of the utterance in order to "make sense of what was meant, rather than what was said" (Walsh 2013: 25), thus the study of pragmatics is "the study of meaning in context" (Walsh 2013: 25). This can further be divided into elements through which the meaning is transferred. Fraser (1988: 2) enumerates three markers which all have distinct functions. Firstly, the structural pragmatic marker can serve as a "signal [of] belief in the sentence content" in the case of the declarative structure. Secondly, the lexical pragmatic marker, which in the example of "please" would mean "signal[ing] a request" and thirdly the phonological pragmatic markers which are exemplified by intonations that indicate, for example, sarcasm. Furthermore, Fraser (1988: 2) describes a different set of three categories which can be ascribed to pragmatic markers: basic, commentary and parallel. Seeing them as parallel to the first three categories, Fraser (1988: 2) describes the basic pragmatic marker as the one that "signal[s] the speaker's basic communicative intention", for example: "Sit down". The second and third type, each go into a deeper level that adds to the basic pragmatic meaning. A commentary pragmatic marker is one that displays a meaning which is added to the first layer of basic pragmatic meaning and, being seen as an addition to the initial, basic meaning, it holds "an entire separate message" (Fraser 1988: 2). The third type, which, despite also consisting of an additional message, is described as an accessory to the basic meaning, rather than a separate one which can hold its individual meaning. Following Fraser's (1988: 2) categorization of DM, he labels them as a subcategory of commentary pragmatic markers, arguing, however, that these too can be divided into types. Therefore, he identifies the more exact category of DM as one that "signal[s] a

comment speci-fying the nature of sequen-tial dis-course re-lation-ship that holds be--tween the cur-rent utter-ance--the utter-ance of which the dis-course mark-er is a part--and the prior dis-course" (Fraser 1988: 2)

In other terms, this means that, whether one speaker uses discourse activity or relationship markers, these always refer to and establish a relationship with what was said before, thereby creating a coherent discourse between participants. (Fraser 1988: 2) Finally, beside their function of establishing a connection inside a discourse, Fraser (1988: 4) mentions three further characteristics of DMs, however, saying that these are not essential. First, he proposes that DMs as a group are a separate grammatical category which is composed of members from different grammatical categories and therefore the context in which they are used is essential for determining their meaning. This will be mentioned in more detail in the later section (3.1.) and in the practical part of this thesis.

Giving an overview of these categories, Fraser (1988: 4) shows that these range from verbs, adverbs and literal phrases to idioms, interjections, coordinate and subordinate conjunctions, adding examples such as *look, now, as a result, by* and *large, well, or* and *however* respectively. As a second characteristics he presents the idea that, while a DM does not have a direct effect on the grammatical meaning and structure of a sentence and can therefore be seen as independent, it cannot be used as a "single word sentence" which differs them from interjections that, despite consisting of only one word, can be used independently and without having to combine them with a sentence. (Fraser 1988: 3,5) An example for that difference would be ´Yeah!´, which can be used alone as an interjection compared to the DMs *well* or *and,* which do not have that same property. The third and final characteristic concerns again the sentence structure and a DM's place in it. Considering that it is an independent element, DMs can be positioned at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of an utterance. However, Fraser (1988: 4) also states that it is in the utterance-initial position that DMs are used most in, compared to medial and utterance-final position[s] in which they are significantly more rarely placed.

The second approach to defining DMs is taken from Maj-Britt Hansen's (1998) text *The semantic status of DMs*. Partially agreeing with Fraser's definition, Hansen's description of DM is that their main purpose is creating a coherent discourse, which she labeled "primarily connective function" (Hansen 1998: 236). Additionally, she claims that the role

of establishing this coherence is not only valid for separate sentences spoken by different speakers, but also within an utterance of the same participant. (Hansen 1998: 236) The following explanation by Hansen (1998: 236) about DMs' main function supports what Fraser has also argued for, in different words: markers are best seen as processing instructions intended to aid the hearer in integrating the unit hosting the marker into a coherent mental representation of the unfolding discourse.

However, regarding Fraser's (1988: 4) classification of DMs, which displays them as a separate grammatical category, Hansen's (1998) approach presents a more flexible model. (Fraser 1988:4) Despite agreeing with the fact that DMs do have their roots in several different grammatical categories, Hansen (1998: 238) suggests that DMs do not all form a separate and distinct category, but that they are rather "located at various points towards the middle of a grammaticalization cline going from content words at one end to pure function words at the other", grammaticalization referring to "a pathway that channels change through a limited number of structures that are minimally different from one another" and resulting "from morpheme boundary loss", for example a word's meaning becoming abstract. (Traugott and Heine 1991: 4) According to Hansen's approach, this grammaticalization as an explanation for the fact that some DM are more easily recognized and categorized as such and others are more dependent on the context. (Hansen 1998: 238) Lastly, one additional characteristic Hansen (1998: 238) adds to his definition is that each DM can express a number of different meanings and have multiple functions. However, he also claims that this increased diversity is valid more "the farther they have moved along the grammaticalization cline", which proves to be an essential element in his definition. (Hansen 1998: 239)

As we have already seen in the two previous approaches to defining DMs, it becomes obvious that most characteristics are not defining but rather just descriptions of this specific term. Schneider (2014: 135, 138) also presents a great number of characteristics which can be attributed to DMs, namely them being "typically short", "small, uninflected, predominantly initial word[s] that [are] not integrated into the sentence structure, and that encompasses indexical, pragmatic meanings" which have no inflections, partially agreeing with both Fraser and Hansen, regarding the autonomy and pragmatic meaning of DMs. Other aspects Schneider's definition has in common with the two approaches previously mentioned is the varied functionality, where he mentions turn taking and coherence

building as examples, again conceding with Fraser and Hansen. One aspect where Schneider's (2014: 138) approach leans more towards the definition provided by Hansen is the fact that the categorization of DMs is not seen as strict, but rather a fluid one which is influenced by their loss of semantic meaning in exchange of pragmatic functions. Concerning their place in sentence structure, however, Schneider seems to agree with Fraser in that DMs have certain positions they occur more in than in others, despite actually being independent of a sentence. (Fraser 1988: 4, Schneider 2014: 136)

For the purpose of this thesis, however, it is important to define DMs as specifically as possible in order to be able to count them and analyze how and to what effect they are used. Starting from the form of DMs, Schneider (2014: 138) gives the rather simplistic statement of DMs being "short, uninflected" words, which already offers a good basis for the definition. In agreement with Hansen (1998: 238), it is also important to state that each of these DMs has multiple functions, which will be discussed in great detail regarding each DM specifically in section 2.4.3.. One characteristic which distinguishes DMs from other words that might share the first two characteristics, is that they are not essential to the basic meaning of an utterance, but rather a commentary on the utterance, the relation between the speakers, the discourse or the preceding or following turn. Fraser (1988: 2) therefore calls DMs "commentary pragmatic markers", as previously mentioned. The fact that DMs can be removed from an utterance without changing its meaning does, however, not mean that they are lacking meaning themselves, since DMs add a significant value to the coherence of any discourse by signaling turn taking, signposting and establishing connections between speakers and topics (Hansen 1998: 236). These combined characteristics establish the working definition for what is seen as a DM in this study. In the following two sections the specific functions and roles of each DM that has been selected for this thesis will be discussed in more detail.

2.4.2. Functions of discourse markers

Proceeding from theoretical definitions of DMs to the practical functions of these, there is a specific one which all three approaches agree upon, namely that they help in creating coherence within a discourse, in the case of this thesis, especially a CD. (Vickov and Jakupcevic 2017: 667) This coherence does not only give the CD a clearer structure but also helps develop a stronger sense of interaction between students, establishing a "more

inviting atmosphere for active participation" (Chapeton 2009: 76, see also Vickov and Jakupcevic 2017: 667) and thereby presenting itself as an effective tool for teachers. Classroom interaction is, however, not only improved by interactive relationships that are built, but also by the understanding of how to "navigate the discourse" (Walsh 2013: 32). By using DMs strategically, signaling the phases of an activity or a lesson, teachers can guide students through the CD in a clearer way, meaning that, since in CD teachers often has the role of managing the turns and topics, they can make use of DMs to establish phases of certain procedures more clearly and thereby help every student to know what phase of the CD they are in, what they are supposed to do and what form their interaction should have. (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 175, Walsh 2013: 32) A clearer understanding of these factors benefits the CD as a whole and increases students' interaction.

It is generally agreed upon that, like in the example of clarifying CD organization, there is a core meaning which can be attributed to DMs. (Fraser 1988: 3). Walsh (2013: 32), for example, states that *right, ok, now, so* and *alright* have the role of "signaling changes in the interaction or organization of learning", while Schiffrin (1987: 118) shares DMs *and* and *so* as "markers of continuation and development" as well as *but* as a tool for "initat[ing] disagreement". However, it is difficult to find one common function which can be assigned to the category of DMs as one, since they differ greatly from one another despite being of the same category. (Schneider 2014: 141) Additionally, the fact that each DM presents multiple possibilities of being used and that it has different meanings in each of these contexts, further adds to the difficulty of creating one core meaning, not only for the category but even for the separate members of the category. (Schneider 2014: 141, Schiffrin: 1987: 64, Fraser 1988: 3) If, for instance, the two following exchanges are taken into consideration as examples for the DM *right*, which are taken from two transcripts used for the empirical part of this thesis, L10 and L3, two functions of the same DM becomes apparent: example 1: "S: nineteen fourteen - T: nineteen fourteen, *right*", example 2: "T: the insides go in there, yes and then the body is bandaged it's put into a coffin. Right ah… and ah… do Egyptians believe in hell?". In the first example, *right* has the function of feedback in the sense of the previous answer being correct and the second of *right* has the function of delaying continuation while keeping the turn. In the following section these different functions will be discussed in more detail.

2.4.3. Selection of discourse markers

Although definitions of and approaches to DMs differ greatly, for the purpose of this thesis I have created a list of fourteen DMs which consists, on the one hand, of DMs that have been mentioned as such throughout literature and, on the other hand, of DMs that are generally known to be used in CD, according literature mentioned at the beginning of section 1.4.. In order to give a clear and more detailed overview of each member of this category, characteristics have been collected from different approaches which create a better understanding of the function of the specific DM and diversity. Interestingly, however, there are some which have been discussed to a great extent by multiple researchers and others on which information and descriptions were rare to find. However, the analysis of the transcripts used for this thesis will demonstrate various facets of these, which will add to the understanding of their multifunctionality. Three DMs that are only scarcely discussed in literature are *all right, also, anyway* and *that's right*. *All right*, for example, is being described as an indication of the following utterance still being concerned with the present topic while *also* is only compared to the term *moreover*, not receiving a more specific description in the literature I have found . (Fraser 1988: 3, Blakemore 1987: 97) *Anyway*, however, is again defined by its function, namely "signaling reorientation of the discourse focus" (Fraser 1988: 3) and presenting thereby the opposite role of *all right*. *That's right* as a DM has been mentioned in the category of back-channeling signals by Duncan (1974: 166) who states that the function of this category is to prove active listening while not "claim[ing] the turn". While the above mentioned DMs are only mentioned in some of the literature, the following DMs, *actually, and, I mean, I think, now, okay, right* and *so* have been covered to a greater extent. The more detailed description of the function of these DMs is meant to enable a more careful counting for the quantitative analysis following in section 3.2.1..

The first DM to be described is *actually*. While researchers generally agree on the fact that DMs tend to be used in certain positions within a sentence structure, *actually*, is described as "semantically and positionally flexible" (Aijmer 2016: 121). Aijmer (2016: 121) presents an example where this flexibility is made clear:

    a. *Actually*, I think that's the truth.
    b. I *actually* think that's the truth.
    c. I think *actually* that's the truth.
    d. I think that *actually* is the truth.

e. I think that's the truth *actually*. (emphasis in original)

She explains that despite the fact that each position is a valid choice but there are significant changes in the meaning of each position. The first important difference of position is whether it is placed at the periphery of sentence or within "the propositional argument structure" (Aijmer 2016: 121). Aijmer (ibid.) explains that the most salient uses of actually as a DM are either in the left peripheral, initial position (a) and in the right peripheral, final position (e) of a sentence and argues that this is the "result of grammaticalization", which corresponds to Hansen. In the example displayed above, *actually* in these two positions has distinct functions and core meanings which she describes as 'contrasting', on the one hand, and clarifying and redirecting on the other hand, for the initial and final position respectively. (Aijmer 2016: 123, 131) The right peripheral position serves as a contrasting function in the sense that it can either introduce a new topic, or "a correction of a preceding claim" (Aijmer 2016: 127-129). Responsive and self-responsive are the terms Aijmer uses to distinguish between a correction that is aimed at a contribution made by another participant of the discourse as opposing to a correction seen as a "revision […] or improvement on [one's] own proceeding utterance" (Aijmer 2016: 125). (Aijmer 2016: 124) The use of actually in the left peripheral position, according to Aijmer (2016: 130) "mark[s] a change in the direction of the discourse rather than correction". It can redirect the discourse either towards a clarification of what was previously said but also serve as an introduction to a different opinion, in which case it is usually combined with *well, yes, no* or *but,* hereby displaying an "argumentative" role. (Aijmer 2016: 131-133)

And as a DM is described as having two main functions: first, the coordination of a discourse in terms of ideas and second, establishing the continuation within a discourse. (Schiffrin 1987: 128) With regard to the function of continuation, researchers agree that *and* is used to indicate a connection between a previous statement and what is following. (Schiffrin 1987: 50, Fraser 1988: 3, Vickov and Jakupcevic 2017: 668) Additionally, Vickov and Jakupcevic (2017: 668) point out that this function "allows teachers to keep the turn when necessary", especially when students interrupt the turn and a connection has to be reestablished. Concerning coordination, *and* can also be used to create a coherence between ideas within a discourse, creating the possibility for listeners to observe the speaker's thinking process more easily. (Vickov and Jakupcevic 2017: 668) Within the CD, *and* is also often combined with *right?, so* and *or* for the purpose of "aid[ing] the

listeners in following the discourse flow" but also "as a check of progress or understanding" (Vickov and Jakupcevic 2017: 665). Additionally, *and* can also be used in "seek[ing] elaboration on a topic from students" (Vickov and Jakupcevic 2017: 668) while in this case the DM would usually be followed by a pause. This usage of *and* is present rather frequently in the transcripts used for this thesis and proves to be effective in terms of students further developing their ideas.

Another DM which aids listeners to follow the speaker's ideas is *I mean*. While it also has the function of drawing attention to the speaker and maintaining this attention on him or her, it also serves as a help for orientation during the speaker's turn. (Schiffrin 1987: 267, 299) Schriffin (1987: 308-309) proposes that it achieves that function by marking "a speaker's modification of his/her own prior ideas and intentions" which acts as a form of signposting. Moreover, she suggests that *I mean* serves as a signal of importance, arguing that "material marked by *I mean* is likely to be interpreted as salient" [original emphasis] (Schiffrin 1987: 310) which increases the listener's attention by conveying that the following information "is highly relevant to [the] interpretation" (ibid) of the whole idea the speaker is constructing.

The DM *I think* is described as a "micro structure optionally attached to a main sentence structure" (Ishikawa 2013: 101) which marks reliability, is used to begin an contribution and can modify the intensity of an idea, which means that depending on the relationship between participants, it can even serve as a face saving tool. (Ishikawa 2013: 97) It can be assumed that its use in CD is therefore valuable, since teachers can weaken their statements in order to reduce the gap between their authoritative role and the students' role. In this way, learners are encouraged to see the statement as a suggestion which they can contribute to, rather than accepting it without feeling invited to participate. According to Ishikawa (2013: 101), this DM can be seen as one member of a larger subgroup of DMs which can be replaced by structures such as "I am convinced that", "I am sure that", "I believe that", "I consider that", "I consider that" or "I suppose that". However, each of these examples add significant change to how the listener is perceiving the message, which can differ greatly from the function of I think. Therefore, it is debatable whether these can be put in one category only based on their structure of "a first person pronoun "I", a present-tense non-factive verb of thought […] and a conjunction "that" as

an additional item" (Ishikawa 2013: 101), when their role and function differ considerably. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this thesis, only the DM *I think* will be considered.

The next DM in this selection is *now*. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 45) describe its function in the CD as "tell[ing] the children what is going to happen or what has happened", which, while being a rather vague approach is nonetheless in agreement with Schiffrin (1987: 266) who identifies *now* as "mark[ing] a speaker's progression through discourse time by displaying attention to what is coming next". For teachers, *now* can be a beneficial tool for signaling that they are keeping the turn, especially if it could be interpreted that their train of thought is coming to a conclusion which might invite students to intervene with their own contributions. This is also true for lists and arguments where it could also be used to the same effect, marking it as unfinished and thereby holding the turn and the listeners' attention. (Schiffrin 1987: 266) However, as with the majority of DMs, the fact that they are each rooted in various grammatical categories, sometimes makes it difficult to "decide in which category a particular token […] is functioning" (Schiffrin 1987: 230), this is valid for *now* as well as for multiple different DMs.

In Vickov and Jakupcevic's (2017: 662) study, *okay* proved to be "the most frequent marker". This is most probably attributed to the vast variety of functions it presents, most of which can be used in CD. During a teacher's contribution *okay* is likely to be used "as a topic opener", "a means of shifting the lecture mode", a tool for maintaining the focus of students on what is being said, a form of transitioning or a tool for structuring a contribution. (Vickov and Jakupcevic 2017: 667) Furthermore, despite seeming contradictory, okay can also act as a marker for transitioning a turn from one speaker to another as well as placing the focus on another participant, thereby acting as a "response marker" (Vickov and Jakupcevic 2017: 662), signaling cooperation, acknowledgment and agreement. (Vickov and Jakupcevic 2017: 662, Chapeton 2009: 75) Moreover, if combined with DMs *and, but* and *so*, the teacher is given the opportunity for not only acknowledging the students contribution, but also correct and add to their utterance. (Vickov and Jakupcevic 2017: 667)

Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 44) identify the following DM as a "framing move", which signals the transition from one part of the lesson to another. According to them, *right* as a framing move "[is] realized by a marker followed by silent stress" (45). The "opening move"

being part of the transitional function of *right*, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 45) also claim that its use increases interaction and invites participation by marking the beginning of a new stage of the lesson. Furthermore, Chapeton (2009: 75) claims that by adding the intonation of a question, *right* has the function of verifying understanding, giving this DM another additional dimension.

Unanimously, researchers agree on the function of the DM *so* being the indication that the following statement is either a result of previous ideas or the consequence of these. (Fraser 1988: 3, Müller 2005: 62, Schiffrin 1987: 51, 227) Vickov and Jakupcevic (2017: 664) described this as the function of "prefac[ing] a summary, introduc[ing] a rewording or giv[ing] an example" which they linked directly to its frequent use in CD, arguing that it does present different roles in different sequences of lessons. While *so* can be used to introduce a summary of grammatical explanations, for example, it is used as a marker for "a question or an instruction" (Vickov and Jakupevic 2017: 664) during parts of a where the emphasis lies on interaction. Another aspect of *so* is that it generally has the role of structuring a discourse and is therefore used as a tool for "organization of CD" (Vickov and Jakupevic 2017: 667). Thus, Vickov and Jakupcevic (2017: 667-668) present *so* as a DM which fulfills roles that are comparable to those of okay, namely "opening a new topic, indicating a topic shift, indicating a return to the main thread of discourse after an interruption or digression in a topic", as well as "prefacing a summary" as already mentioned above.

Schiffrin (1987: 111) gives a clear outline of the functions of *well*, arguing that it has multiple advantages, due to being positioned at the beginning of a sentence. First, a speaker starting their turn with *well* signals that they have been actively listening and following the conversation. (Schiffrin 1987: 111) Second, by doing so, the speaker has created on the one hand, "conversational expectations", which engages the listeners and raises their attention, while on the other hand "allow[ing] a temporary suspension" which provides the speaker with time to construct their contribution. (Schiffrin 1987: 111) Third, because *well* serves as a response marker which can be either direct or indirect, it can also introduce a reaction that is not necessarily directly answering to the previous statement, opinion or question. (Chapeton 2009: 75, Schiffrin 1987: 112, 114, Müller 2005: 107) Thereby, *well* is allowing the speaker to add a remark which is valuable for the discourse, yet not directly linked to the previous contributions, a function which is

especially important for contexts in which multiple active participants take part in a conversation and it is not possible to directly respond to each contribution. In cases like these, the DM *well* efficiently acts "as an interactional resource through which speakers manage some of the complex participation frameworks created by multi-party conversation" (Schiffrin 1987: 112).

The last DM selected for this thesis is *you know*, which has been labeled as the "most versatile and notoriously difficult to describe" (Müller 2005: 147). Therefore, the first step is to differentiate between the informational role of *you know*, which is used to elicit information and reactions from the listeners: i.e. "Do you know that…?" and *you know* as an interactional marker, which is the role that serves as a DM. (Schiffrin 1987: 273) As already mentioned, the complexity of *you know* is generally agreed upon, however its functions can be structured into three categories. On the one hand, it is used to attract the attention of listeners. (Schiffrin 1987: 267) On the other hand, it has the function of "seeking recognition from the hearer" which encourages active listening and back channeling, acting therefore as a tool for creating dynamic discourse since it "displays the speaker as an information provider who depends upon hearer reception of information" (Schiffrin 1987: 274). In addition to these two functions, *you know* also has the role of introducing knowledge that is generally agreed upon or "consensual truths" (Schiffrin 1987: 276) or information which, despite representing a particular idea, is formulated as a general idea, inviting hearers to perceive it as such. (Schiffrin 1987: 276) Although this latter function of you know is not used in CD as often as the first two mentioned, it is nonetheless a DM which can be effectively used to increase students' attention as well as encourage their participation.

Having established the functions and working definition of DMs and CD as well as the characteristics of the CLIL context which this thesis is concerned with, the following part is addressing the empirical analysis of transcripts from lessons within the CLIL context. The DA and CA which have already been addressed to a greater extent in section 2.1. serve as the basis of the following analysis which is divided into two parts; the quantitative and the qualitative analysis. The importance of each DM's definition as well as the characteristics of each role present in CD becomes evident in the qualitative as well as the quantitative analysis since every example of DM use has to be analyzed and counted individually, since an automatized counting of these is not possible. In the following

empirical part details about the data collection as well as the method of investigation and how the latter is linked to the theoretical insight gained from the first part of this thesis will be discussed in greater detail.

3.   Empirical Part

In order to address the question of this thesis in an empirical way, this part, as previously mentioned, aims at analyzing CLIL lesson transcripts and the CD taking place during these lessons in order to study how DMs influence classroom interaction and whether or not they increase student talking time. Having established the theoretical background of DA, CD, CLIL as well as DM in the previous chapters, this part will provide a practical analysis which is divided into two sections. The first section consists of presenting the data and the process of analyzing it, while the second part will display the results. These will be divided into quantitative and qualitative results, each including discussions about the results and more detailed insight into examples from the lesson transcripts.

3.1. Design and Procedure

Analyzing CD in CLIL classes specifically was possible due to a selection of numerous transcripts from CLIL classes in Austria provided by my thesis supervisor, Prof. Hüttner, which were originally collected as part of a research project by Professor Dalton-Puffer. These are available via http://www.delt.acdh.oeaw.ac.at. These have been analyzed in detail in order to find a satisfying answer to this paper's research question. The following chapters will display the process of this study, first describing the setting of the lessons and then the method of investigation.

3.1.1. Participants

As previously stated, the transcripts of the CLIL lessons were recorded and transcribed as part of a large research project by Prof. Dalton-Puffer in 2001 and 2002. For the purpose of this thesis 47 transcripts were chosen. Additionally, it is important to state that the participants in these CDs are the same ten teachers and 305 students in different classes from six schools. Considering the research question, it was important to analyze lessons where English was used for the majority of the lesson, which is the main reason for not analyzing the remaining eight lessons as well. Also, since many classes are

composed of a teacher and either a native speaker language assistant or another teacher, all these are considered teacher roles for the purpose of this study.

The 46 lessons are each approximately fifty minutes long and take place in grades ranging from second grade lower secondary to fifth grade upper secondary as well as in different schools (Allgemeine Hochschule, Handelsakademie, Höhere Technische Lehranstalt, Höhere Lehranstalt für wirtschaftliche Berufe). While most lessons display typical classroom routines, there are some exceptions during which presentations take place (L27), students participate in role plays (L21) or the teacher is showing a video (L20, L15). Therefore, it has to be taken into account that speaking time distribution is influenced by factors which are independent of the teacher's interaction with the students, although it can be assumed that these examples do not represent the norm of how speaking time is shared in these classrooms. Another element which might influence the data regarding speaking time is the fact that there are several teachers in some classrooms (L44, L37, L35, L27, L26, L24, L23, L22, L21), which are present in the form of a native speaker or English teacher assisting the content teacher responsible for the respective CLIL classes which are taking place in subjects such as music, history, science, geography, economics, biology, tourism and marketing.

3.1.2. Data Collection

There is a large number of DMs mentioned throughout literature as seen in section 2.4.3. and while some seem to have a similar importance attributed by researchers, others are only defined as DMs by some (e.g. *all right, also, anyway* – see section 2.4.3.) In order to find a relevant result for this thesis, however, the only DMs considered for both the qualitative as well as the quantitative analysis are those that appear in at least 3 of the 46 lesson transcripts. Therefore, the analyzed DMs are as follows: *actually, and, I mean, I think, now, okay, right* and *so*. Having established the list of DMs, the lesson transcripts have been grouped according to various characteristics in order to establish a possible relation between the use of DMs and the distribution of speaking time as will be discussed in the quantitative analysis. Regarding the measuring of talking time, each word spoken by the teachers or the students respectively has been counted as it was transcribed and viewed as the closest possible alternative to measuring the actual time of each turn. These numbers together with the count of DMs has provided the basis for the quantitative analysis that will be presented in section 3.2.1..

3.2. Results and Discussion

The analysis of the CD represented in these transcripts is based on a combination of two methods; i.e. Corpus Linguistics and CA. Investigating the results both in a quantitative as well as in a qualitative way is based on Schneider's (2014: 236) arguments for achieving more "interesting perspectives on CD" when combining them. While the quantitative analysis is based on corpus linguistics, the qualitative approach follows the terms of CA. Corpus linguistics (CL) is defined as "highly quantitative" (Schneider 2014: 236), which has the benefit of providing a detailed insight into linguistic features. However, Schneider's (2014: 236) claim about being able to use programs for automatic and systematic investigation of transcripts or corpora does not represent a reality in the case of this study, since the categorization of DMs depends on context and relies on individual interpretation. Regarding CA, Schneider (2014: 236) defines it as a "more qualitative, fine- grained […] approach", whose essential factor "is to interpret from the data rather than impose predetermined categories" (Schneider 2014: 234), thus making it possible to achieve results which are based solely on the empirical study, without having the restrictions of "preconceived set of descriptive categories" (Schneider 2014: 234). Since both approaches have elements which are of great value to the final interpretation of the results, this paper will follow the idea Schneider (2014: 236) presents concerning the combination of both approaches saying that their similarities and differences create a balance which provides a more complex insight into results. Both "working outwards to construct context" from empirical data, is efficient in the case of this thesis, since there only has to be one set of data which can be interpreted both quantitatively and qualitatively, either investigating patterns or individual turns, respectively. (Schneider 2014: 236) However, their complementary characters provide a blend of detailed information and insights combined with clarifying overviews. (Schneider 2014: 236) Therefore, the next chapters will first offer a general perspective of the patterns of DM use in the respective CLIL classes, and then provide more detailed insight into individual exchanges between students and teachers and how specific DMs affect their interactions.

3.2.1. Quantitative Results

In order to present the quantitative results, first this section will display the distribution of the previously mentioned DMs and their use in the lesson transcripts used for this thesis. Second, there will be several groupings of these lesson transcripts according to their DM percentage or their TTT percentage. These groups aim at displaying differences in talking time distribution and possible relations between those numbers and the use of DMs.

As can be observed in Figure 1 below, *okay* is the most used DM in the transcripts of this thesis with an occurrence of 1133 times throughout the lesson. This proves correct the statement initially supported by researchers such as Vickov and Jakupcevic's (2017: 662) and mentioned in section 2.4.3.. Interestingly, other than *so*, the remaining DMs share a count that lies between 48 and 185 which marks a significant difference to the two highest scoring DMs *okay* (1133) and *so* (670). As Figure 2 shows, the total number of DMs (2652) compared to the total number of words spoken by the teachers (154186) amounts to 2%, which, however, varies from 0,56% to 6,25% depending on each lesson.
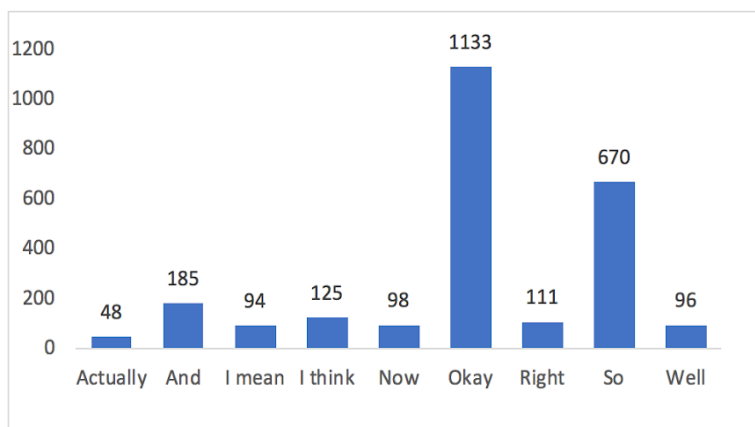

Figure 1. Total numbers of Discourse Markers in the transcripts L1-L46 arranged in alphabetical order.
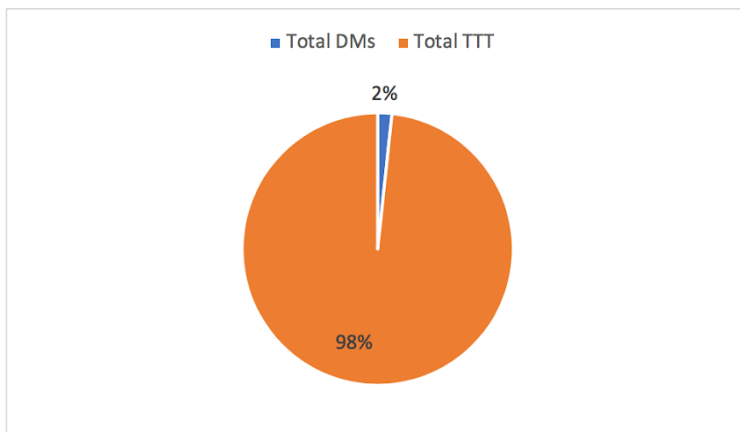
Figure 2. Total Teacher Talking Time (in words) compared to the total number Discourse Markers used in the 46 transcripts.

This variety of DMs was the basis for the following analysis in which the lesson transcripts were divided according to their percentage of DMs. In Figure 3 transcripts with a percentage of DMs which was higher than the average of 1,76% were combined to show the talking time distribution which resulted in 41:59 (TTT:STT). Despite the fact that the percentages of DMs used in the first and the second group varied greatly, as well as the number of transcripts that were divided into these two groups (14 and 32 respectively), Figure 4 does not show a significant difference in the distribution of talking time compared to Figure 3.
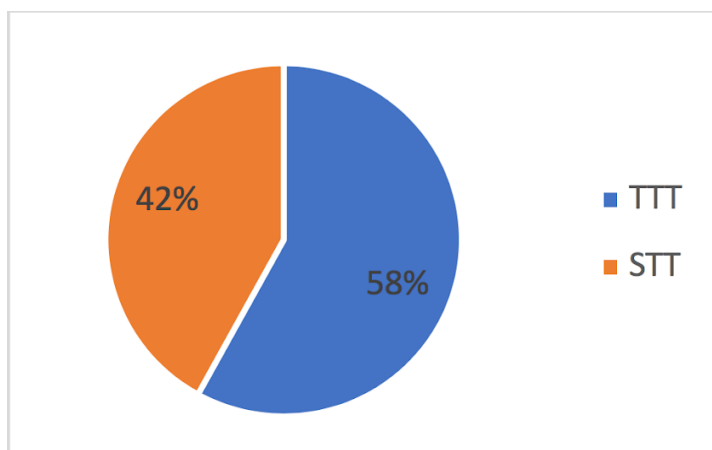

Figure 3. Distribution of Talking Time in transcripts with a Discourse Marker percentage above the average of 1,76%.
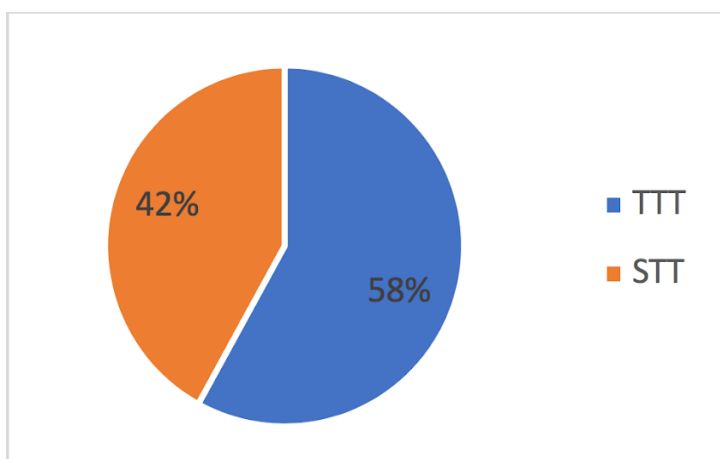
Figure 4. Distribution of Talking Time in transcripts with a Discourse Marker percentage under the average of 1,76%.

In order to discover whether or not the results in talking time distribution would differ if the groupings were different, the following figures show the transcripts divided into two groups according to whether or not the total number was above the average of 57,62. Figure 5 and Figure 6 display a result that is slightly different to the one presented above. It is, however, important to note that the first group (Figure 5) had an average of 82 DMs and the second group (Figure 6) only an average of 35 DMs per lesson. Nonetheless, it is not necessarily indicative of a relation between the difference in number of DMs and the percentage of STT since the difference between 41% and 44%, is not as significant as initially hoped to be. It is, however, interesting to mention that while the difference is not that meaningful, it is interesting to see that the group with a lower number of DMs (Figure 6) is the one that displays slightly more STT than the group with a higher number of DMs (Figure 5).
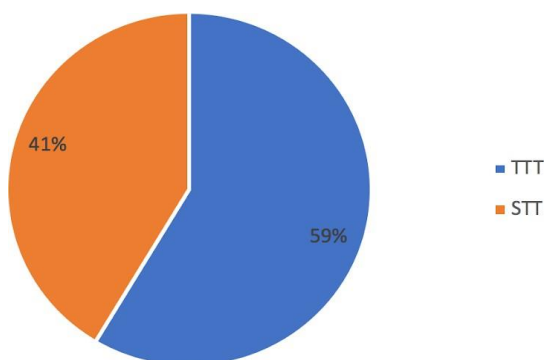

Figure 5. Distribution of Talking Time for transcripts with a total number of Discourse Markers over the average of 57,62.
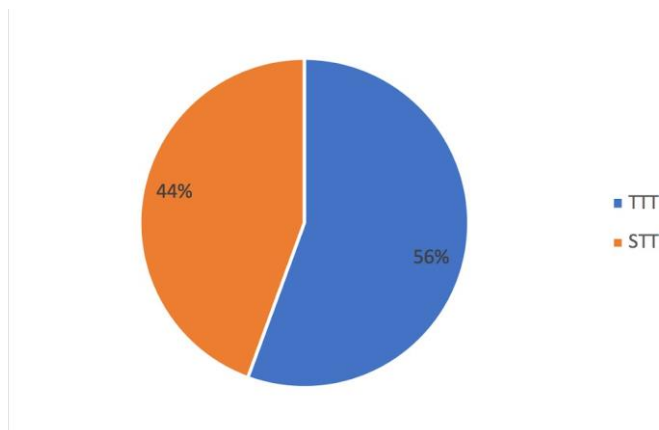
Figure 6 - Distribution of Talking Time for transcripts with a total number of Discourse Markers under the average of 57,62.

This result seems to also be confirmed when taking the three highest ranking transcripts in terms of number of DMs (Figure 7) and the three lowest ranking transcripts (Figure 8). These numbers display an interesting difference in the distribution of talking time, namely that the transcripts with fewer uses of DMs display a relatively high percentage of STT in two of the three examples presented (Figure 8), while the transcripts presenting the highest numbers of DMs show a relatively high percentage of STT in only one of the three transcript examples mentioned (Figure 7).
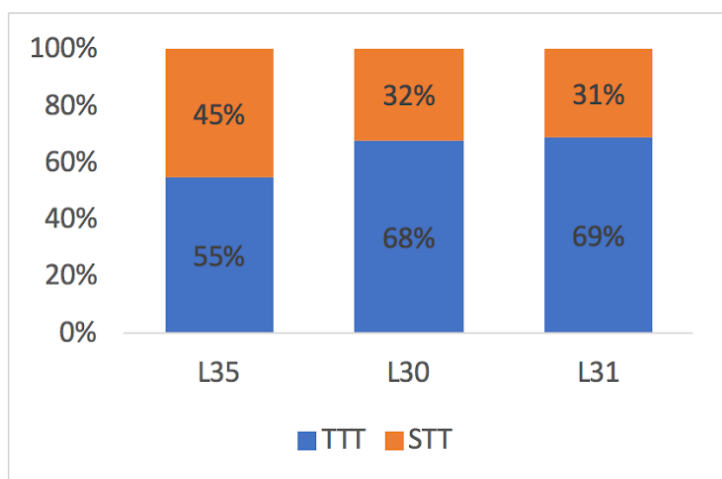

Figure 7. Distribution of Talking Time for the three highest ranking transcripts in terms of number of Discourse Markers.
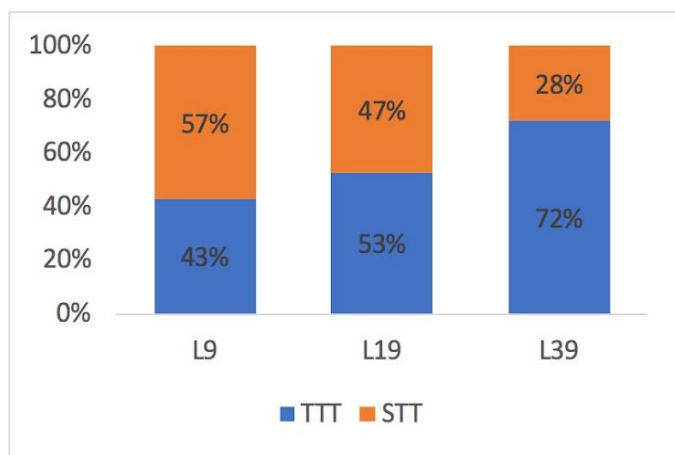
Figure 8 - Distribution of Talking Time for the three lowest ranking transcripts in terms of number of Discourse Markers.

After having analyzed the talking time distribution of the lesson transcripts in different groups, the first aspect that becomes obvious is that the differences in talking time distribution regarding the percentage of STT are not as big as expected, despite the highly differing percentage of DMs in each transcript. As presented in the first two groups, Figure 3 and 4 and Figure 5 and 6, the differences are almost too small to be considered significant. However, an interesting and unexpected aspect, as mentioned earlier, is the fact that, despite being very small, the difference that does exist seems to indicate that STT is higher in those transcripts that present a lower number of DMs. This result is visible in the first two groups and is also confirmed by the last group. Here only three transcripts of each category have been taken into consideration, the ones with the highest percentage of DMs and the ones with the lowest percentage of DMs respectively (Figure 7 and Figure 8). This group, as well, indicates that the transcripts where fewer DMs have been counted (Figure 7) are the ones that display more STT compared to the first group with more DMs (Figure 8). The fact that the numbers from all three of these groups indicate the same result, is worth taking into consideration. However, in order to gain a better understanding of how the use of DMs can influence STT, it is important to also conduct a qualitative analysis in which individual sequences from the transcripts being used for this thesis are being analyzed in greater detail, which will be done in the following chapter. For the purpose of having a clearer perspective of both the quantitative and qualitative results, both will be combined and discussed at the end of this chapter.

3.2.2. Qualitative Results

As already mentioned, this section aims to discuss examples of DMs being used in CD in more detail. Since the quantitative results showed how talking time is distributed due to a higher or lower use of DMs, it is interesting to see how exactly the use of these encourages students to talk more. The following examples will be categorized by DMs and in order to give a better overview of their effects the examples have been taken from a variation of lessons.

The first DM to be analyzed in more detail is *and*. These are examples of instances where teachers use the DM *and* for different purposes, however, the main interest in this close analysis is to see the effect it has on the students which is why the students' response is an important part of each example. As stated previously during the data collection as well as the analysis, the distinction between DMs and the same words being used in different grammatical categories is essential. In this case the obvious difference to be made was between *and* as a connector within a person's utterance and *and* as a signal for eliciting the completion of one's utterance by another speaker or indicating the need for elaboration from the other speaker him or herself. These only represent some of the functions which qualify *and* as a highly convenient tool in CD since it encourages students to participate and invites them to collaborate with the teacher in the building of statements.

In the following example (1) which is extracted from the transcript L16, we see another function *and* can have as a DM, namely marking hesitation. By using *and*, the teacher allows him or herself to think about the structure and content of the following utterance while signaling that their turn is not over yet. This way *and* does not have the effect of encouraging students to speak but rather to make them wait until the teacher's turn is completed.

(1)
S: sometimes they remew- removed blood ... cause they thought it would contain disease......the (?)
T: all right. *and* ah ... what does the .. doctor do when he tells a patient aah to take one particular medicine, what's the verb, the verb that says that?
S: prescribe

The following two examples taken from transcript L2 present a similar situation, the teacher making use of the DM *and* in order to hold their turn.

(2)
Cilli: by the British .. i don't know the name
T: doesn't matter, Howard Carter, right
Cilli: Carter
T: *and* ahm ... why is Tut-ench-amon so famous then?

(3)
Carol: (XX) ah god of sun
T: the god of the sun, yes Carol. *and* aahm .. what happened ah to the new capital after his death?
Thomas?: it was destroyed

In another example from transcript L16, (4) *and* is used to elicit a response, which has already been mentioned as one of this DM's functions. However, the example below shows that the first instance where *and* is used to encourage students to complete the statement is not successful. In reaction to the student's lack of response the teacher even adds a second *and* as an emphasized invitation to complete the aforementioned utterance. This proves to be ineffective as well which leads the teacher to eventually abandon the initial formulation and paraphrase the question.

(4)
T: who could participate?
Daniel: all cheating
S: everybody
S2: only (?)
T: participators,
S: was heißt das? was heißt das?
T: spectators *and* ...
S3: spectators sind die zuschauer
Sascha: whow
T: *and* ...?
Ss (lachen)
T: what's important for the people who compete? for the competitors?

In the following short exchange between students and teacher this type of "interwoven" discourse is visible too. After repeating what the first speaker, a student, said, the teacher adds *and* as an elicitation for continuation. If the only addition would have been the DM *and*, it is most probably that the first speaker would have continued the sentence, however, by adding a specific name, which is not the first speaker's name, another student was brought into the discourse. That way yet another speaker is invited into the interwoven sequence, taking over the turn and continuing an utterance that was initially started by the first speaker. What is interesting in this case is that while the teacher's turn seems to be just as long as the two students' turns, it only acts as a bridge, the only thing added by the

teacher being "and? Nadine?". What is thereby created is one sentence that is built by three speaker: "Women are not allowed to compete" "and" "they had also a separate festival". This example shows how *and* as a DM can act as an invitation to speaking and how it can be a useful tool for teachers to navigate the discourse without necessarily taking over the turn.

(5)
S: women were not allowed to compete.
T: they were not allowed to compete *and*? Nadine?
Nadine: and they had also a separate festival ..

Regarding the DM *I mean*, the following example taken from L10 shows a function that has been previously mentioned in section 2.4.3. and described by Schiffrin (1987: 310) as a signal of importance which draws the attention of the listener and makes the following utterance more "likely to be interpreted as salient". In the case of example (6) the stress is placed on students answering the previous question in their own words, encouraging them to express themselves freely, without repeating what has been said before.

(6)
T: So, what ah what would you say, *I mean* if you if you told them in your own words, what were the... problems of these men?
S44: I think ah...
T: What were they afraid of?
S44: Of the death

Now has been described as yet another tool for teachers to signal that they are keeping their turn despite the short pauses that often precede or follow the DM (Schiffrin 1987: 266). In the example (7) from transcript L4, however, we see that despite its theoretical function of keeping the speaker's turn, practically it does not always fulfill this successfully. In this specific case this might also be caused by the combination of *now* with the DMs *right* and *okay* which, as previously discussed, have the opposite function of signaling the end of one's turn and the beginning of a new sequence in the lesson (see section 2.4.3.).

(7)
S: other wives ... and new one
T: right, okay. *now* ah... i've
S: ah… I have a question

Example (8) from transcript L45 shows another function of the DM *now*, namely one that Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 45) described as structuring a discourse in order for the students to know "what is going to happen or what has happened". In this case, by using

now the teacher signals that they are transitioning into a slightly new topic which is also marked by a fairly general question regarding that subject matter.

(8)
T1: Converts. Excellent. So, the flashlight converts electrical energy into?
SX: radiant
T1: radiant energy. or light energy. Good. *Now…* what about the battery?
SX: Ehm…
T1: we said that the battery… there were some different ideas… the battery stores?
SX: the energy.

As already stated by researchers, *okay* has proven to be the most used DM in this study as well. In the following sequences two of its various functions will be exemplified. First, the function of a "topic opener" or as a tool for marking transitions within the discourse (Vickov and Jakupcevic 2017: 667) can be seen in example (9) from the transcript L10 as the teacher transitions from one topic, "the Mujahedin" to the next, "the Soviet propaganda". This transition to another topic or sequence within the discourse can also be observed in example (10) from transcript L2.

(9)
T: *Okay*. good. so much for the Mujahedin. Ah the next one, the Soviet propaganda...

(10)
S: the shabti had ah .. h-hieroglyphs
T: written .. on it, yes. and that's where it said. ... ahm ..... *okay* .. let's go to the bottom.

In the next example from transcript L9 the teacher is using *okay* not only to transition to another sequence of the lesson but also to specifically mark the end of her turn which gives students the possibility to take the turn.

(11)
T: yes, and, ah, which kind of Protestantism?
Sf5: [Presbyterian.
Sm1: [Presbyte[tingsbums.
Sm2:   [Presbyterian.
T: yes, exact, exactly. because of their criticism, because of their opposition she had to leave to England, to leave for England which was not such a good idea in the end. *okay*, thank you. Sf6: I have a question.
T: yes.

Second, *okay* also has the function of a "response marker" which, as Vickov and Jakupcevic (2017: 662) state often also signal "cooperation, acknowledgment and agreement". In the following examples we see teachers responding to students' answers with *okay* as a form of confirming the correctness of the students' answers. However, this agreement is often also followed by the teacher adding additional information as in examples 12 and 13 from transcripts L1 and L9 respectively, which also exemplifies the

function of cooperating with the students. In example 14 which was taken from transcript L10 the DM *okay* also fulfills the function of cooperating with and acknowledging the student's answer rather than completely agreeing with it since there is also a minor correction following the DM. The difference between simply correcting the student or, as in this case, acknowledging their answer is the validation the student receives from the teacher, signaling that despite an element being wrong, the rest of their statement is taken as a correct and valid statement, which is encouraging for students to continue in expressing their answers even when they are not fully confident of it being completely correct. In example 15 from transcript L5 it also becomes evident that the teacher rephrases the students' response into a full sentence, thereby acknowledging the correctness of their answer but also cooperating for its expression.

(12) L1
T: *Okay* and can we say what elements of drama or what elements of musical it had in it? cause that's what we are going to do here is see along the way what elements of a musical that we know today were picked up.
S: ballet.
T: *okay* ballet... melodrama with ballet. *okay*.

(13) L9
H: from Mary to ... each of her friends.
T: okay, so, the basic thing is he was, he was THE spy, the spy ... master.

(14) L10
T: yours was wrong? Marion?
Marion: because the Soviet Union wanted Afghanistan to be a communist- commu- communistic state.
T: country. *okay*. Yess

(15) L5
T: they have to pay taxes, yes. What ah right do they not have that citizens have?
S1: to vote
Dany: to vote
T: they don't have the right to vote. .. yes, *okay*. .. right. aahm .. and then we talked about the status of Greek women

As mentioned before, researchers claim that the use of *right* as a DM "increases interaction and invites participation" (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975: 45) when it is followed by a silent stress. However, another way of using *right* to encourage students to talk is by using it as a question (Chapeton 2009: 75). By doing so, the teacher signals a wish for confirmation of understanding and also gives an opportunity for students to elaborate or change their previous statement. The following example 16 from transcript L16 illustrates *right* being used with a silent stress. The teacher uses the DM for signaling to the student who made the previous statement that it was good, which is further accentuated by even

the use of "good". The same function of *right* is also displayed in example 17 from transcript L10.

(16)
S: and mostly that (?) were models of the part of the body that had been cured.
T: *right.* good.

(17)
S: nineteen fourteen
T: nineteen fourteen, *right*

Another important function of *right* is that of signaling the transition into either a new stage of the lesson or into a new topic, which was also called "opening move" by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 45). This function is displayed in the example 18 from transcript L3.

(18)
T: the insides go in there, yes and then the body is bandaged it's put into a coffin. Right ah… and ah… do Egyptians believe in hell?

For the DM *so*, as for the majority of DMs, there is a wide variety of functions which can be attributed to it. As presented in the theoretical part of this paper, *so* can be used for the introduction of a summary, marking a question, structuring and organizing discourse or shifting from one topic to another. (Vickov and Jakupevic 2017: 664, 667-668). All these functions aid in developing a context where students feel and are invited to participate and interact. In the next sequences some examples of these explicit and implicit invitations to participation will be displayed, while also presenting some variations of these uses and their effects of the CD.

Before analyzing discourse sequences which are more typical examples for the use of this DM, it is interesting to see how one specific teacher uses the DM *so* to encourage students to participate. It is in transcript L8 that we see multiple instances of this. Adding imperatives to this DM, in combination with *please* creates a fairly explicit invitation for students to take action as is demonstrated in the examples below. However, it is interesting to notice that none of the imperatives elicit a verbal response ((20) close, (21) take, (22) look, (23) listen) and this is visible in the students' response, who presumably carry out what they have been asked to do. This being the reason why their verbal response to the demand is absent. The only verbal response that we see is in (11) where the student gives additional information relevant for the task they were asked to complete.

While it true that the question of this study was to analyze whether or not DMs increase STT and these examples do not represent an adequate response to that question, it seemed important to add these examples to this analysis since it displays an interesting instance of a teacher using *so* in a form that does not necessarily require its presents. Using the simple phrase "clean the board" to express a request would have been sufficient for the students to understand and respond. However, the tone that the addition of *please* and *so* carries, creates a more inviting feeling for participation. While the word *please* already implies that more inviting, "friendly" feeling, *so* does so furthermore by establishing a relation within the discourse and implicitly reassuring a coherent discourse. Instead of dividing the discourse into separate sequences which are identified by the different requests, the teacher indicates that each sequence is related to the previous. In a way, the use of *so* establishes a reasoning for the following request which in the farthest sense creates transparency throughout the discourse and thereby creates an inviting atmosphere for students to actively participate in.

(20)
T: […] *so please close* your maps ... who likes to volunteer? Ines? ... no, i've got already two .. marks from Ines
Ines: trotzdem
S: trotzdem

21)
T: *so please take* your worksheet seven... your homework is .. only to learn, ja? ihr habts glaub ich genug zu lernen
Ss: ja mhm ja

(22)
T: well done. *so please .. look* to the board... ah Verena, if you would like to do the next also and it's well done you will get a plus, ja?
Verena: ahm .. the next entry?

(23)
T: *so please listen* to her now
S: there you d- ahm man hat's nicht abgezogen gleich

A more typical use of *so* is visible in the transcript L9. Here the teacher uses it to encourage the students to take the floor, signaling the end of a turn. After them not responding to the two previous questions, the teacher uses *so* which acts as an elicitation. We see, however, that the students are not responding directly to the question and do not interact with the teacher, but resume their activity.

(24)
T: good, two more minutes, is this okay? A., is that okay, two more minutes? (lacht) ... *so* ...

S1: Halil, do you have a, an English dictionary?
S2: No, but, Michi hat das super (?) ... this is Deutsch-Französisch, Französisch-Deutsch.

In example (25) we see students and a teacher in a dialogue that where both seem to mirror what the other one said. When the students seem to not be able to continue the discourse, the teacher first encourages them with "then". However, we notice that the next turn only consists of the student repeating that *then* again and not adding new information. This is when the teacher rephrases what has been said up to that point in order to help the discourse move on which proves to be successful as in the next turn we see one of the students continuing the turn. What is noteworthy, however, is the use of *so* in this case. As stated previously, so often has the role of prefacing a summary which is important in this instance since it could have also been interpreted as the continuation of what the student previously said, had the teacher not used *so*.

(25)
S: the British?
T: the British
S2: the British w... were the most powerful
T: then ...
S2: ah, then and ...
T: *so* it moved upwards definitely
S2: and the Spanish went down.
T: and, ah, yes, the Spanish empire had enormous problems.

In the following example from transcript L5 the teacher uses yet another function of *so* which elicits a continuation and completion to the previous statement that should be made by the students. By using so, students are invited to take over the turn which again has the goal of encouraging them to speak.

(26)
T: yes, the sons could ah… the sons had to support the parents, but parents are working, *so* ...
S: ahm the sons could inherit

Summarizing the results of the above mentioned examples for the qualitative analysis, it becomes apparent that the effect of DMs on students' active participation is not easily made visible, since the short sequences do not give enough insight into this area. While, on the one hand, some examples have shown answers and replies students give to an initiation or question the teachers had asked, it is, on the other hand, not possible to say if the students would have given the same reply if the teacher had not used the DM. It is also evident that in some instances students do not react to the teacher's initiation in a

way that would correspond to the function attributed to the respective DM. If this is caused by the inefficiency of the DM or by different circumstances affecting the students' attention, remains in this case a question that cannot be answered. Compared to the results of the quantitative analysis, it is, however, interesting to see that neither the quantitative nor the qualitative results indicate a strong tendency towards the effectiveness of DM use in order to improve interaction in the CD.

4. Conclusion

To end this thesis and answer the research question that guided the present study, it appears that DM do not have a positive effect on Student Talking Time in Austrian CLIL classes. After having analyzed the transcripts both with the approach of CA as well as the DA, it became obvious that the result does not show significant differences in the distribution of Talking Time. In the qualitative analysis it was clearly displayed that the group with less use of DM presented a higher percentage in STT. Additionally, the results in the qualitative analysis showed similar tendencies. While there were some examples of exchanges where a direct response to a DM was observable, the majority of examples showed unsuccessful attempts of teachers trying to encourage students to participate and interact.

Some aspects that would need to be considered in future studies regarding this question would be to conduct a study that investigates the change in participation related to the teachers' use of DMs over a longer period of time. Due to time constraints it was not possible to administrate a study to that extent, however, the results of the transcripts used strongly indicated that most classes have an already established CD which is only to a small extent directly related to DMs used by the teachers. If, therefore, classes would be studied while teachers would use increasingly more DMs, a more valid result could definitely be expected.

Since the quantitative analysis showed a clear contradiction to the tendencies mentioned throughout the theoretical part, it is important to mention that there are multiple reasons for this which do not all stand in direct connection with the use of DMs. While it may be true that teachers teaching CLIL classes are not always specifically trained to teach their

subjects in English, which can influence their language proficiency and the complexity of their use of English, it is also true that the teaching format has a great influence on the talking time distribution. This is another reason in favor of a long term study, since these factors could be analyzed in greater detail and would be taken out of the equation when studying the relation between DMs and speaking time.

As a general conclusion, it is interesting to see that DMs play an important role in discourse and even in CD, however it is also important to notice that their use does not have an effect that is as direct as one might interpret when reading literature about them. While the probability of a teacher increasing participation by the sole use of some specific words is not high, it is noteworthy that DM as a category carry not only the direct meaning of their structuring and navigating nature, but also carry a feeling which can be created in order to achieve that positive and inviting learning atmosphere which was mentioned early on in this paper. I believe that by creating that atmosphere, students could indeed be more likely and more willing to participate. However, as for the result of this paper, it remains obvious that DMs do not have a direct influence in increasing student talking time.

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the pragmatic use of discourse markers in Content and Language integrated Learning classrooms in Austria in order to gain insight into how they enhance students' interaction and whether or not there is a relation between the use of discourse markers (DMs) and student talking time (SST). By looking at theoretical approaches and definitions of DMs as well as a corpus of transcripts from a broad collection of classroom discourse in Austrian CLIL a list of specific DMs was established. The data were recorded by Prof. Dalton-Puffer as part of a major research project and available via http://www.delt.acdh.oeaw.ac.at. The transcripts used present discourses at various levels of language proficiency and different subjects, a combination which therefore offers varied examples of DM use. After having generated the list of specific DMs, the analysis is divided into two parts which reflect to a combination of Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis. The first part presents a quantitative approach, in which the transcripts are divided into several different groups in order to display the effect of DMs on the distribution of talking time. The second part offers insights into the qualitative analysis, where specific examples from the transcript collection are analyzed. The results of both, the quantitative and the qualitative approach, suggest, contrary to original expectations, that lessons in which fewer DMs are used present a higher percentage of student talking time.

Topic areas:

CLIL, Classroom discourse, Discourse markers, Discourse Analysis

Zusammenfassung

Ziel derder vorliegenden Diplomarbeit ist es, den Effekt spezifischer Diskurspartikel, wenn von Lehrpersonen genutzt, auf die Redezeit von Schüler und Schülerinnen in Österreichischen CLIL Klassen zu untersuchen. In zwei Phasen unterteilt werden zunächst essenzielle theoretische Grundlagen in Bezug auf Diskurspartikel, Klassendiskurs und Diskursanalyse gelegt um weiters diese Grundlagen in der empirischen Studie zu gebrauchen. Der Datensatz für die vorliegende Studie besteht aus insgesamt 47 Transkripten österreichischer CLIL-Klassen, die im Rahmen eines Forschungsprojekts von Prof. Dalton-Puffer in 2001 und 2002 aufgenommen wurden und über http://www.delt.acdh.oaew.ac.at verfügbar sind. Die Daten stammen aus unterschiedlichen Schulen und Klassenniveaus und bieten somit eine große Breite an Beispielen von Diskurspartikel wie sie von Lehrern und Lehrerinnen genutzt werden. Durch eine Kombination an literaturbasierten und datenbezogenen Kriterien wurde eine Liste von spezifischen Diskurspartikeln fixiert, welche die Basis für die quantitative und die qualitative Analyse bietet. Die quantitative Analyse zeigt in Form von verschiedenen Gruppierungen den Effekt der Diskurspartikel auf die Sprechzeit der Schüler und Schülerinnen. In der qualitativen Analyse werden spezifische Interaktionen aus den Transkripten näher untersucht. Das Ergebnis dieser Arbeit zeigt, dass die Sprechzeit von Schülern und Schülerinnen, im Gegensatz zu ursprünglichen Erwartungen, in Klassendirskursen mit weniger Gebrauch von Diskurspartikeln höher ist als in jenen, in denen Lehrpersonen mehr Diskurspartikel gebrauchen.

Themen:
Diskurspartikel, Klassendiskurs, CLIL, Diskursanalyse